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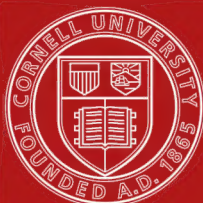
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WASHINGTON

THE CITY AND THE SEAT OF GOVERNMENT



The Capitol

WASHINGTON

THE CITY

AND THE

SEAT OF GOVERNMENT

BY

C. H. FORBES-LINDSAY

AUTHOR OF

"America's Insular Possessions," "India, Past and Present," etc

ILLUSTRATED

PHILADELPHIA

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Dedicated
TO THE
HONORABLE HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND
PRESIDENT
OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

“ May this territory be the residence of virtue and happiness ! In this city may that piety and virtue, that wisdom and magnanimity, that constancy and self-government, which adorn the great character whose name it bears, be forever held in veneration.”—ADAMS.

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WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

To the chief city of every nation is attached some romantic legend connecting it with the times preceding its foundation. Washington, though of comparatively modern establishment, is no exception, unless it be in that the traditions relating to the territory now known as the District of Columbia, have an unusual basis of truth.

Long before the proprietary régime of the Calverts, the region was the site of a capital. Here was the center of the powerful Algonquin tribe. The division of it known as the Powhatans occupied what is now the District at the time that John Smith explored this section of the country and had his memorable adventure with the daughter of their chief. The capital of the Algonquins consisted of a group of villages situated in the angle formed by the Eastern Branch and the Potomac. The principal camp and the wigwams of the chiefs

were at Greenleaf's Point. The council house stood in the very shadow of the hill that is now crowned by the Capitol.

For a long period after the colonization of Maryland — until its occupation by the Government, in fact — the land covered by the city of Washington was almost virgin wilderness and contained but a handful of settlers. The site of the city was overspread, in the main, by dense woods, relieved here and there by patches of corn or tobacco. When the Government moved to Washington, there were but two houses between the Executive mansion and the Capitol. The scanty population was clustered for the most part in two settlements, Hamburg, on Observatory Hill, being one, and Carrollsburg, on James Creek, the other.

Even after the location of the Government at Washington, the growth and improvement of the city were so slow as to excite the ridicule and contempt of visitors. Nor were these feelings confined to foreigners. The site of the capital had been decided upon in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the northern States and a considerable element among the first two generations of Americans entertained pronounced sentiments of unfriendliness towards the national center. To this attitude, which was frequently accentuated by active efforts to remove the seat of government, must be largely attributed

the early stagnation and neglect in which the city lay.

Washington for so long a period played the part of "Ugly Duckling" among our urban centers, was for so many years allowed by its legal sponsors to remain in a state of rustic backwardness, that early Americans acquired a habit of thinking of their capital with indifference and speaking of it slightingly. Not until sixty-five years after it became the seat of the government was it unquestionably accepted as the permanent center of the country, and still another decade passed before Congress assumed its equitable share of the burden of maintenance and improvement, and so made it possible for the city to grow to its present condition of beauty and magnificence. The factors that militated against the growth of the city, the actual and constructive relations that existed between the municipality and the Government, and the splendid struggle made by the inhabitants to lift the capital out of the slough of stagnation in which it lay for more than half a century, are not generally known. They are matters that have been omitted, as a rule, from books dealing with the city of Washington, but the writer of the present volume believes that he has served a useful purpose in setting them forth at some length.

The progress of Washington is necessarily, to a considerable extent, a reflection of the progress

of the nation. It is, therefore, doubly interesting and instructive to view the development of the capital from the days of small beginnings when Congress was too poor to pay a chaplain and the Vice-president and President-elect of the United States lived in a boarding house on Capitol Hill; when a carter, in his smock, might attend a White House reception without let or hindrance and a foreign ambassador be received by the highest officer of the land in dressing-gown and slippers.

Following the story of the city through the century of its existence, we find it passing through several distinct phases of social and political condition. Previous to the Civil War, officialdom comprises polite society but its standard of manners and morals is far from the highest. Statesmen of the greatest repute openly frequent the gambling rooms and drinking saloons along Pennsylvania Avenue and consort with the Beau Hickmans and similar adventurers of their times. In the legislative chambers, quarrels, in which weapons are drawn, frequently interrupt the proceedings and the duel is a recognized institution.

The War drew to Washington a numerous riff-raff and its close saw the population augmented by a number of wealthy individuals who exerted a marked influence upon the social life of the capital. At this period, too, it became the Mecca of the office-seeker and the lobbyist.

A wonderful change has been wrought in the past thirty years. Washington has developed into one of the most beautiful and attractive cities of the world. Its population has doubled, the property of its residents has increased at least three-fold in value, its public utilities have been placed upon the basis of the most modern methods, and its business interests have expanded greatly. The visible transformation is so striking as to excite the wonder even of the inhabitants, who have the disadvantage of a view contracted by a foreshortened perspective. But, when they contrast their earliest impressions with the tangible picture of the present, the evolution of recent years astounds them. "Chronic Row" and "Old Mother Damnable's" are within the recollection of men not yet old, whilst "Foggy Bottom" is but a thing of yesterday. Nor need one be a patriarch to recall the unsightly presence of negro shanties on Massachusetts Avenue and other localities now lined with palatial houses, and the lumbering herdic, that still preserves a precarious but picturesque existence, is a reminder of the not-distant day when the city, which now has the finest street car service in the country, was dependent on horse-drawn vehicles of a sorry type.

Coincident with the material development of Washington and commensurate with it, has been the intellectual and social growth of the city. Dur-

ing the period of expansion under consideration, the number of pupils in the public schools has doubled and the number of teachers, quadrupled. Numerous institutions of higher learning have come into being or sprung into unwonted vigor. The cherished hope of George Washington that the capital would be the home of a great national seat of learning is realized in the university named after him.

The extraordinary facilities for education and research offered by the capital have become widely recognized, with the result that Washington is constantly attracting students and writers in such numbers as to justify the statement that it is already the literary center of the nation and may soon claim a like position in the matter of education. For similar reasons, the capital has become the center of scientific study and investigation and is drawing to itself an ever-increasing number of the devotees of art.

During the Civil War the people of Washington depended upon outside papers,—mainly those of Baltimore,—for the news. Now the daily journals of the city are the equal of any in the country and every paper of consequence in America has a correspondent at Washington.

Equally marked is the advancement of the city as a social center. Time was when Georgetown's old families opened their doors to only a select

and favored few of the residents of Washington and for many years after its foundation, polite society at the capital was composed mainly of a handful of high officials, prominent officers of the military forces and representatives of foreign powers, with a sprinkling of members of Congress. To-day, Washington can boast the most intellectual society in the country and has become the regular winter residence of many persons of wealth, who have no commercial nor political interest in the place. Officials and members of Congress bring their families to the seat of Government, make homes there and, in many cases, remain after retirement from public life. The palatial homes of Washington and its commodious hotels are constantly entertaining distinguished visitors from various parts of our land and from foreign countries, whilst the city is rapidly growing in favor with the casual tourist, and as a place for conventions.

Within the past decade there has been a marked increase in the popular interest displayed in Washington and a tendency to look upon it, with propriety, as the people's city, occupying a territory peculiarly the property of the whole nation, and representing the focal point of all the most important national interests. With the change of public attitude has arisen a desire to know more about the capital and its history, as well as willing-

ness to correct the misconceptions that have for so long been entertained with regard to it. With a double object in view, the author of this volume has given an unusual amount of space to the early growth and government of the city, subjects generally slighted in previous books devoted to Washington. It is designed, thereby, to clear up the most flagrant of the fallacies to which reference has been made, and also to afford a basis of comparison that will tend to a better appreciation of the wonderful advancement of the capital since the Civil War.

The physical aspects of the city and suburbs at different periods are described and the coincident improvement of its material, social, and intellectual interests. Incidental features, such as "Journalism in Washington," have not been neglected and space has been found for the interspersion of historical events and interesting characters associated with the city.

The growth of our Government since its inception has been marvelous. A full appreciation of what it has been can be gained only by a survey extending from the times when a Secretary of State might almost carry his papers in his hat. Such was the case when the Government fled to Germantown to escape the epidemic of smallpox in Philadelphia, and Jefferson boarded with the Dutchman, Bockius. The heads of departments

seem to have conducted their business at their lodging places without difficulty or serious inconvenience, and cabinet meetings were held at one or another boarding house.

In 1800, the men in the employment of the Federal Government numbered one hundred and thirty-six. To-day, the civil service rolls carry more than twenty-five thousand names, not to mention the much greater number employed outside of Washington. At the former period the disbursements for all purposes were but \$137,000. Now the budget for administrative needs exceeds \$20,000,000. Many a comparatively unimportant bureau of the present day has a larger staff than all the Departments together had a hundred years ago. When the Government moved to Washington, most of the Departments managed well enough with the accommodations afforded by ordinary private houses and, in one case at least, the premises supplied lodgings for a family besides the space occupied by the office. This wonderful expansion of the Government during the century of its location at Washington is traced in a few chapters, which include brief histories of various Departments.

The general design of the author has been to bring the past and present into view—to show the city and the Government as they were and as they are. This comparative method of treatment will not only afford a realization of the achieve-

ment attained, but will also furnish a basis for an introspective view of the possibilities of the future. In this we shall hardly fail to conceive of our capital as a city of several millions of inhabitants, occupying a position of preëminence in every respect save that of commerce and in that yielding superior rank to only a few cities of the country.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEN MILES SQUARE.

IN the development of urban centers, there is something not unlike the growth of human beings. The precocious child disappoints our expectations no less commonly than does the "boom" town and, just as the dull and weedy boy often becomes a bright and handsome specimen of his kind, so the unpromising village frequently blossoms into a beautiful and bustling city. Thus we may excuse the pessimistic opinions of the future metropolis expressed by early visitors to the settlement on the banks of the Potomac, surrounded by "endless and almost impenetrable woods," with "no objects to catch the eye but a forlorn pilgrim forcing his way through the grass that overruns the streets, or a cow ruminating on a bank." Indeed, the wonder is that a few, in the natal period, had the faith and foresight to predict for the forlorn infant a healthy adolescence and a vigorous maturity.

It was during the chaotic days immediately following the Revolution, when few men's minds

were calm or their heads clear, that the idea of a national capital took form. Under the circumstances, it had been strange if that proposition, or any other of general concern had failed to arouse conflicting views and counter suggestions. Suspicion and jealousy were rife, not only among the leading men of the embryo nation, but also among the several States which formed the confederation. Coupled with these disturbing factors, were the fear of the commonwealths of one another and their general distrust of the people. Riot and insurrection were among the elements that rendered the five years following the peace of 1783 the most critical period in the history of the American Republic. Hardly less sinister were the dissensions between various sections of the country — the greater and the lesser States — and the numerous boundary disputes. The rancor excited by these differences naturally extended to the representatives of the people and made it extremely difficult to reach a decision on the question of the site of a national capital and retarded for many years the work of establishment. The general government was feeble in the extreme and Congress was frequently placed in the position of a suppliant to States that assumed a degree of independent sovereignty inconsistent with the theory and practice of union. Hardly in any respect, except for the making of treaties with the Indians

and the organization of the western territory, did Congress exercise the prerogatives of government.

So little cohesion or agreement of thought marked the relations of the States in the formative period of the Union that the idea of a convention to form a national constitution, advanced by Alexander Hamilton as early as 1780 and supported by Thomas Paine and other leaders, was not put into effect until some years later, and then timorously and with evasive announcement of purpose. The convention which met in Philadelphia, May, 1787, after four months of contentious deliberation framed a Constitution, which was not finally accepted by all the States until more than two years later.

Not in a single matter, since the date of their independence, had the states been united in thought and action, when they were called upon to combine in the establishment and upbuilding of a national capital. The immediate outcome was what might have been expected under such circumstances.

The leaders of the convention that framed the Constitution — or at least the leaders of the National party in that convention — conceived the establishment of a seat of government under the control of Congress as essential to the freedom of that body from undue local influence and to the permanency of the national life. On the motion

of James Madison, there was added to the enumerated powers of Congress in the Constitution a general provision in the following words:

To exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States and acceptance of Congress become the seat of the Government of the United States. (Section 8, Article 1.)

The Continental Congress (1774 to 1778) and the Congress of the Confederation (1778 to 1789) had been movable bodies, whose sessions were held in four different States and in eight different localities. The first Congress under the Constitution took into consideration the question of a permanent location and the matter became at once the subject of bitter and protracted wrangling. North and South were, in general, competitors for the site and in each of those divisions individual States contended for the honor and advantage of containing the national capital. The strongest claims were advanced for Philadelphia, Germantown, Havre de Grace, Wright's Ferry, an indefinite place on the Potomac and another on the Susquehanna. In September, 1789, the House, by a vote of 31 to 19, decided in favor of the last named location. This action aroused the intense indignation of the Southern members and Madison doubtless expressed the feelings of a majority of them when he affirmed that

had a prophet arisen in the Virginia Convention to foretell the proceeding, that State would have refused to ratify the Constitution. Nor were the Northern representatives less intemperate in voicing their sentiments. A Connecticut member declared, after the later selection of the Potomac site, "he feared that the whole of New England would consider the Union destroyed."

When the House resolution favoring the Susquehanna site reached the Senate, that body substituted Germantown for the locality named in it. The amendment was immediately accepted and the Capitol would probably now stand in the historic suburb of Philadelphia but for the fact that a further amendment — in no way affecting the location, however,— carried the bill back to the Chamber, where final action upon it was precluded by the close of the session.

During the ensuing recess of Congress, the Southern members, encouraged by Washington and led by Jefferson and Madison, continued to canvass their claim to the capital. In the following year (1790) they achieved their purpose by means of a political bargain which furnished the first recorded instance of "log-rolling" in the annals of Congress. At this time the country was keenly interested in the vital proposition, fathered by Hamilton, for the national assumption of the individual debts of the States. The less encumbered

States were opposed to the measure, and Virginia, which had funded its debt at six per cent, and had provided for the payment of the interest, was the strongest opponent of the bill which Hamilton hoped to pass at the next session of Congress. Such was the condition of the two most important questions agitating the political leaders of the infant republic when Jefferson gave his famous dinner "with punch and Madeira." He tells the story thus in his *Anas*:

"As I was going to the President's one day, I met him (Hamilton) in the street. He walked me backward and forward before the President's door for half an hour. He painted pathetically the temper into which the Legislature had been wrought, and the disgust of those who were called the creditor States, the danger of the secession of their members, and the separation of the States. He observed that the members of the Administration ought to work in concert; that though the question was not in my Department, yet a common duty should make it a common concern; that the President was the center on which all administrative questions ultimately rested, and that all of us should rally round him; and that, the question having been lost (in the preceding Congress) by a small majority only, it was probable that an appeal from me to the judgment and discretion of some of my friends might effect a change in the vote,

Old Pierce Mill



and the machine of the Government, now suspended, might be set in motion again. I told him that I was really a stranger to the whole subject; not having yet informed myself of the system of finance adopted, I knew not how far this was a necessary sequence; that undoubtedly, if its rejection endangered a dissolution of our Union at this incipient stage, I should deem that the most unfortunate of all consequences, to avert which all partial and temporary evils should be yielded. I proposed to him, however, to dine with me the next day, and I would invite another friend or two; bring them into conference together, and I thought it impossible that reasonable men, consulting together coolly, could fail, by some mutual sacrifices of opinion, to form a compromise which was to save the Union.

“The discussion took place. I could take no part in it but an exhortatory one, because I was a stranger to the circumstances which should govern it. But it was finally agreed that, whatever importance had been attached to the rejection of this proposition, the preservation of the Union and of concord among the States was more important and that therefore it would be better that the vote of rejection should be rescinded, to effect which some members should change their votes. But it was observed that this bill would be peculiarly bitter to the Southern States, and that some concomitant

measure should be adopted to sweeten it a little to them. There had been propositions to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia, at Germantown, or on the Potomac, and it was thought that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, this might, as an anodyne, calm in some degree the ferment which might be excited by the other measure also. So two of the Potomac members (White and Lee, but White with a revulsion of stomach almost convulsive) agreed to change their votes and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. In doing this, the influence he had established over the Eastern members, with the agency of Robert Morris with those of the Middle States, effected his side of the engagement, and so the assumption was passed, and twenty millions of stock divided among favored States and thrown in as a pabulum to the stock-jobbing herd."

Thus by a stroke of "practical politics," two highly important measures were effected. The Assumption Act was passed on a close division and the bill to locate the seat of government on the banks of the Potomac was carried by an extremely small margin. Indeed, it required the votes of South Carolina, which had just previously joined the Union. The House voted 32 to 29 and the Senate 14 to 12 in its favor. The strong opposition continued to antagonize the movement during

the decade of preparation and during more than half a century after its establishment, efforts were made to remove the Government from Washington.

In July, 1790, Congress passed the act which provided "That a district of territory not exceeding ten miles square, to be located as hereafter directed on the river Potomac at some place between the mouths of the Eastern Branch* and Conogocheague, be, and the same is hereby accepted for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States," and further provided that until the first Monday in December of the year 1800, the various offices of the Government should remain in Philadelphia and the sessions of Congress should be held in that city. Previous to the passage of this act the states of Maryland and Virginia had by legislative action offered to Congress the requisite extent of territory with free choice of selection.

Previous to the coming of the white man the territory from which the District of Columbia was carved had been occupied by a number of allied

* The Eastern Branch is now almost universally called the Anacostia River, the change in appellation being due to Jefferson. In 1792 he requested Major Ellicott to ascertain the original name of the stream. To this Ellicott replied that in old surveys it appeared as "Anna Kastia." Communicating with Ellicott two years later on the subject of a map of the city, Jefferson suggested: "Supposing you were to consult them (the Commissioners) on the propriety of adding to the Eastern Branch the words Annakastia, this would probably revive the ancient Indian name instead of the modern one."

bands of Indians, who found good fishing in the Potomac and its tributaries and abundance of game in the surrounding forests. A large village was situated on the present site of Anacostia, and it is from the name of the tribe located there that the place received its name. It was known as Nacotchant, or Nacochtank, from which the name of Anacostia was evolved. Nacochtank, which was the residence of a chief and contained eighty warriors, was the principal settlement within or adjoining the District. The Jesuits, who came out later with Lord Baltimore, Latinized the name of Anacostan, whence we get Anacostia, the modern name of the Eastern Branch at Washington. For much of which and a great deal more relating to the early Indian inhabitants we have the authority of Henry Fleet, who was on the spot in 1631 and was, with the possible exception of John Smith, the first white man to set foot on the site of the City of Washington.*

At the time of its transfer to the nation this territory contained the flourishing and rival towns of Alexandria and Georgetown. Outside of these centers it was for the most part forest and woodland with here and there a plantation worked by

* Brief journal of a voyage made in the bark Warwick to Virginia and other parts of the continent of America in 1631. In *English colonization of America*. E. D. Neill, 1871, pp. 221-237. Also *History of Maryland*. J. T. Scharf, 1879, v. 1, pp. 14-20. Also manuscript account of "The Place" by Henry Fleet. Library of Congress.

slaves. The owners were generally men of good birth, education and means — in short, representative Southern planters. Some of these, who figured in the early history of the city, will be referred to later but it may be of interest to notice briefly here a few of the principal manors and their masters that occupied the vicinage.

Almost at the same time that the genial "Spectator" was born in the Milston rectory of the Reverend Lancelot Addison, a son appeared in the Maryland home of John Addison, a brother of the Wiltshire parson. In due course Thomas Addison was sent to England to be educated and became a class-mate of his cousin Joseph at Oxford. On his return to the colony, Thomas Addison married and built a fine manor house on the banks of the Potomac opposite Alexandria, which he called "Oxon Hill" in memory of his alma mater. In 1713, a grant of 3,000 acres lying between Rock Creek and the Potomac was made to Colonel Thomas Addison and James Stoddert. At about this time Nancy Addison appeared upon the scene, her advent following closely after the birth of William, the son of the Reverend George Murdock, rector of the Rock Creek Parish. These two married at an early age and inherited from Colonel Addison the Rock Creek property. They built upon it a spacious mansion which stood until recent years. William Murdock occupies a bright place in colonial

history and was one of the leading men of his State.* A daughter of William and Nancy Murdock married into the family of President Adams and during the first years of the capital the homestead on the hill frequently saw distinguished guests under its roof. The family retained Friendship, as the property was called, for some fifty years thereafter. Its site is now occupied by the College of History of the American University.

Major Benjamin Stoddert and General Uriah Forest jointly owned a tract of land to the north of Georgetown and west of Rock Creek, called Rosedale. These life-long friends had fought side by side in the Revolutionary War and at its close found themselves penniless. In partnership they established a business in Georgetown from which they amply recruited their fortunes. Stoddert built a house in Georgetown, at the corner of Prospect and Frederick streets, which during his tenure of the office of Secretary of the Navy was a social center. Forest, having purchased his partner's interest in Rosedale, erected upon the property a modest frame domicile, still standing, which he made his residence from the year 1794 until his death. The place is still occupied by descendants of the old soldier. In his later years, General Forest engaged in

* William Murdock was a delegate from Maryland to the famous "Stamp Act Congress," held in New York in 1765. William Murdock, with Robert Livingston and Samuel Johnson signed the noted address then made to the King.

speculation by which he lost all he possessed. His brother-in-law, the brilliant Philip Barton Key, who himself lived in great luxury at Woodly, originally a portion of the Rosedale estate, bought the house and one hundred and thirty acres of surrounding land for Mrs. Forest at the sale of her husband's property.

During the Revolutionary period the district north of Georgetown was almost thickly settled by people of easy means who were noted for their hospitality and social tendencies. Along the roads which ran from Georgetown through this neighborhood and continued into Montgomery County were many old manor houses upon estates obtained by patent from the Lord Proprietary of Maryland and Avalon. One of the most notable of these was Hayes, still standing near Chevy Chase. The house was built just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War by the learned and witty Alexander Williamson, Rector of Rock Creek Parish. With an income of ninety hogsheads of tobacco a year, Williamson was one of the richest men thereabouts and he indulged freely in the pleasures then common among gentlemen. He rode straight to bounds, negotiated his three bottles at a sitting, freely backed his own and his friends' race-horses, and played whist for double-eagle points and five on the rubber. Parson Williamson was distinctly popular with his parishioners. His house, like

many another of colonial times, is reputed to have been built with "bricks brought from England."

It is highly improbable that any house in this country was ever constructed of brick brought from England. A rough calculation of the weight of the material that would be required for a residence of modest size is sufficient refutation of these persistent myths. Some of the wealthy families of New Netherlands, such as the Van Rensselaers, indulged sentiment to the extent of importing bricks and tiles from Holland to form portions of their mansions, and it is possible that a few English did so, but the practice could not have been at all general. Brickmaking was extensively carried on in the American colonies during the seventeenth century and before the close of it almost every village had its brickyard. At the time that the seat of government was established at the District of Columbia, Daniel Carroll of Duddington had a large brickyard on his estate and supplied the Greenleaf-Morris-Nicholson partnership with the greater part of the material used in their extensive building operations.

Bruce in his "Economical History of Virginia" declares that "all bricks used in Virginia in the seventeenth century were manufactured there; that bricklayers and brickmakers arrived in 1607;*

* I believe that the writer in question is in error as to this date. There does not appear to be evidence of brickmakers among the workmen brought over in the expedition

that in 1622 bricks formed one of the principal articles exported from Virginia to the Bermudas; that the Royal Governor Berkeley's brick house had only six rooms; that the Indians were repulsed with brickbats; that it was highly improbable when bricks were rated at eight shillings a thousand in Virginia, planters would have been led to import them from England where, between 1650 and 1700, they could not be purchased for less than eighteen shillings, adding to that transportation across the ocean."

A near neighbor and boon companion of Parson Williamson was "Uncle Charlie" Jones of Clean Drinking Manor, a name derived from a particularly clear spring upon the estate. The first owner of Clean Drinking was John Coates, who received a Crown grant of fourteen hundred acres of land in 1680. This he bequeathed to his son John, by whom it was in turn left to his daughter Elizabeth, who married Charles Jones, gentleman. Charles Jones erected the manor-house, in 1750 and it has remained in the family ever since. The builder of Clean Drinking was a convivial soul who attracted to his board and hearth the bon vivants, the debonair cavaliers and the dashing beauties of the surrounding country. And, also, at times Clean Drinking harbored guests more august and sober.

of which John Smith was a member but they were certainly included among those that came with the "second supply" under Captain Newport.

Here Washington tarried for a thankful rest upon his way home to Alexandria from Fort Duquesne in 1755. Here Postmaster Monroe, driven from his office by the invading British, took refuge and kept his mail bags moving by circuitous route. At a later date, Clay, Webster, and Calhoun found relaxation from the cares of State within the congenial confines of Clean Drinking.

At Warburton lived and died George Digges, Esquire, whose widow built Green Hill and there resided with her two young children and her mother, Anne Carroll. Green Hill was a portion of the Chilham Castle manor estate, named after the ancestral home of the Digges in Kent, where the famous Sir Dudley lived in the reign of James the First of England. William Dudley Digges, son of the aforesaid widow, married Eleanora, daughter of Daniel Carroll of Duddington and the young couple made their home at Green Hill, where the architect, L'Enfant, found a refuge in his last days.

An hour's ride to the south-east brought the occupants of Green Hill to Riversdale, one of the finest plantations in Maryland, lying about a mile beyond the then thriving port of Bladensburg. George Calvert was a handsome man of cultivated tastes who lived in the lordly fashion of the wealthy planter of his time. His house was a focal point of culture and good breeding and its dignified

hospitality was enjoyed by the most distinguished men and women of the day. After the removal of the Government to Washington, the drawing rooms of the old mansion-house were frequently filled with official dignitaries and leaders of fashion.

Besides these there were several family seats of consequence — Arlington, Analostan, Duddington and others which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter — but enough has been said to indicate that the territory from which the District of Columbia was carved was far from being the desolate, deliquescent wilderness that has sometimes been pictured. Many of the residents were related by blood-kinship to the best families of England with whom they maintained more or less close intercourse. The sons of the prosperous planter went to England for their education, whilst his daughters were sent to one of the excellent seminaries in Baltimore or Georgetown. The members of these old families intermarried and kept up a constant exchange of social courtesy and festivities. A ten-mile ride for the purpose of paying a visit, or attending a dance, was no matter of account to the young man or woman of those days. The urban centers supplied them with all the conveniences and most of the luxuries of the period, and it is doubtful if the best country life of to-day is productive of anything like as much enjoyment as our colonial ancestors contrived to get out of theirs. They were keenly alive —

those early Americans. The men were strong, active and chivalrous; the women, fresh, healthy, enthusiastic Dianas. The men drank a trifle more than was good for them, perhaps, and were a little too much addicted to cock-fighting and duelling, but they were a virile lot and their daughters made magnificent mothers. Many a man who to-day leads the life of a galley-slave, chained to a desk, owes his ability to sustain the incessant grind to the vitality derived from his colonial ancestors.

The landowners from whom the site was acquired had, of course, a direct and permanent interest in the city, and most of the surrounding families became connected with it, either as residents, or by marriage with citizens, and so you may trace the best and oldest families of Washington to the colonial planters of the surrounding region.

In pursuance of the act authorizing him to make selection of the "ten miles square," President Washington on January 22, 1791, appointed Daniel Carroll and Thomas Johnson of Maryland, and David Stuart of Virginia, commissioners for surveying the district and "for performing such other offices as by law are directed." Each of these gentlemen had been members of a committee created by Congress in 1784 to examine and report "on a location at or near the lower falls of the Potomac" for the seat of government. Washington seems to have predetermined the position of the

district, which he was capable of doing with judgment owing to an intimate acquaintance with the section of country which it embraced and, at least, fair knowledge of the entire territory available to his choice. He had encamped with Braddock's army on Observatory Hill, when that general set out upon the ill-fated expedition against which the newly-commissioned officer had strongly advised him. Later he had explored the Potomac from mountains to tidewater. It is quite probable that in his professional capacity he had surveyed many tracts on the Maryland as well as the Virginia side of the river and quite as likely that social occasions often drew him to different parts of the ceded territory.

Two days after the issuance of the letters patent to the commissioners, he sent them explicit instructions for the survey. "After duly exercising and weighing the advantages and disadvantages of the several situations within the limits aforesaid," he directed the commissioners to proceed forthwith to run "lines of experiment" beginning at a point on Hunting Creek, to be determined by a line "running from the Court House of Alexandria, in Virginia, due southwest half a mile, and thence a due southeast course until it shall strike Hunting Creek." Thence the first of the four lines was to run "due northwest ten miles; thence the second into Maryland, due northeast ten miles; thence

the third, due southeast ten miles; and thence the fourth line due southwest ten miles, to the beginning on Hunting Creek."

A glance at the map will show that the initial point of this survey is ten or more miles below the mouth of the Anacostia, the mark specified by the enabling act as the southern limit of the area from which the district was to be taken. Furthermore, Congress did not contemplate the inclusion of any portion of Virginia, for the section of the act directing the acquisition by commissioners, states that they shall "purchase or accept such quantity of land on the *eastern side* of said river (Potomac) within the said district (that lying between the mouths of the Conogocheague and Anacostia rivers), as the President shall deem proper for the use of the United States, and according to such plan as the President shall approve."

No explanation has been offered for what would appear to be a deliberate violation on the part of President Washington of two or more important provisions of the act. Within six weeks of his order directing the survey, Congress legalized the departures involved in his project by an amendatory act which, however, contained a prohibition against the erection of any public buildings upon the Virginia side of the river. It is reasonable to suppose that Washington had secured the agreement of the leaders in Congress to his proposed

modification of location before he directed what he probably regarded as a tentative survey. The wisdom of including in the district any territory west of the river was never generally accepted and the restriction against placing public buildings on that side excited the dissatisfaction of the Virginian residents of the "ten miles square," and in 1846, the territory was retroceded to the State by act of Congress. The Maryland boundary, however, extends to the farther bank and thus the entire river lies within the present limits of the District of Columbia.

Washington's action in moving the location of the federal district southward in what seemed to be an arbitrary manner excited a great deal of unfavorable comment and the opponents of the Potomac* site did not hesitate to declare that he was moved by a desire to enhance the value of his Mount Vernon estate and the Arlington property of his wife's grandson. However, the matter seems to be capable of explanation without the aid of any such ungenerous imputations. It must be admitted that nowhere within the hundred mile stretch between the Anacostia and the Conogochegue can be found a site comparable with that which was chosen. The policy of including both banks of the Eastern Branch and the towns of

* Potomac, e. i., Potow-om-eke—"The people who come and go," in other words the traders. The name was borne by a tribe before it was applied to the river.

Alexandria and Georgetown in the "ten miles square" is patent when we remember that Washington believed that the capital would become the "greatest commercial emporium" of the United States. A sufficient inducement for the acceptance of the Virginia territory might have been found in the grant of \$120,000 which the act of cession provided should accompany the land. Small as the amount appears to us to-day, it was in that incipient stage of the nation a very considerable sum to a government terribly embarrassed for the means of administration, and quite at a loss to know whence the money for the building of the federal city should come. As a matter of fact, private enterprise assumed the burden of the undertaking at the outset and for many years the largest proportion of the expense of improving the metropolis was borne by its citizens.

The laws of the States from which the respective territories were acquired remained in force over them, involving a complex system of jurisdiction from which the District has been relieved only in recent times. Long after they had been repealed or modified in the criminal statutes of Maryland, the laws making the following and many other offenses of a similar character punishable by death remained in force in the District of Columbia: Burning a court-house or mansion; breaking into tobacco or other outhouses and stealing

Washington's Tomb, Mount Vernon



goods to the value of five shillings; burning tobacco, stored or on the stalk; burning a ship, sloop or boat; stealing a horse, a negro or a boat; destroying, or conspiring to destroy, any magazine of provisions, or military or naval stores of the United States. These laws were in force in the District at least as late as 1834.

Towards the close of March, 1791, Washington went to Georgetown to confer with the commissioners as to the actual location of the city and to secure from the owners the necessary land. The site was already settled in his mind and overtures of a definite character had doubtless been made to the proprietors, for at the close of the day on which the President went over the ground, the following agreement was signed and witnessed:

We, the subscribers, in consideration of the good benefits we expect to derive from having the Federal City laid off upon our lands, do hereby agree and bind ourselves, heirs, executors, and administrators, to convey in trust to the President of the U. S. or Commissioners, or such person or persons as he shall appoint, by good and sufficient deeds in fee simple, the whole of our respective lands which he may think proper to include in the lines of the Federal City, for the purpose and on the conditions following:

The President shall have the sole power of directing the Federal City to be laid off in what manner

he pleases. He may retain any number of squares he may think proper for any public improvements or other public uses, and the lots only which shall be laid off shall be joint property between the trustees on behalf of the public, and equally divided between the public and the individuals as soon as may be after the city is laid off.

For the streets the proprietors shall receive no compensation, but for the squares or lands in any form which shall be taken for public buildings or any kind of public improvements or uses, the proprietors whose land shall be taken shall receive at the rate of £25* per acre, to be paid by the public.

The whole wood on the lands shall be the property of the proprietors, and should any be desired by the President to be reserved or left standing, the same shall be paid by the public at a just and reasonable valuation, exclusive of the £25 per acre to be paid for the land on which the same shall remain.

Each proprietor shall retain full possession and use of his land until the same shall be sold and occupied by the purchase of the lots laid out thereon, and in all cases, when the public arrangement, as the streets, lots, etc., will admit of it, each proprietor shall possess his building and other improvements and graveyards, paying to the public only one half the present estimated value of the

* Equivalent to \$66.66 in Pennsylvania currency.

land on which the same shall be, or £12 s10 per acre; but in cases where the arrangements of the streets, lots, squares, etc., will not admit of this and it shall become necessary to remove such buildings, etc., the proprietors of the same shall be paid the reasonable value thereof by the public.

Nothing herein contained shall affect the lots of the parties to this agreement which they may hold in the towns of Hamburgh and Carrolsburgh.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals this thirtieth day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1791.

ROBERT PETER,
DAVID BURNES,
JAS. M. LINGAN,
URIAH FORREST,
BENJAMIN STODDERT,
NOTLEY YOUNG,
DANIEL CARROLL, of Dudding-
ton,
OVERTON CARR,
THOMAS BEALE, of George,

CHAS. BEATTY,
ANTHONY HOLMEAD,
WM. YOUNG,
EDWARD PIERCE,
ABRAHAM YOUNG,
JAMES PIERCE,
WM. PROUT,
ROBERT PETER,
JAS. WARREN, by Benj. Stod-
dert,
WM. KING,

Carrollsburgh and Hamburgh were two flourishing but unincorporated settlements. The former, situated at the junction of the Potomac and the Anacostia, occupied part of the original "Duddington" property which passed in 1770 from Charles Carrol, junior, to Daniel Carrol, Notley Young and Henry Rozer.

The village of Hamburgh was founded in 1765 by Jacob Funk and was originally known as Funks-

town. It lay along the Potomac about a quarter of a mile to the west of what are now the Monument Grounds. The owners of land in Hamburgh and Carrollsburgh transferred their interests to the Commissioners in 1793 and 1794 in consideration of receiving certain lots in other parts of the city.

The Commissioners experienced a great deal of difficulty in dealing with the original proprietors. There were genuine misunderstandings, and disputes as to extent of boundaries and locations of public buildings. There was general discontent with the action of the Commissioners and some disposition to question the good faith of the President.

Out of these disagreements arose a very silly and improbable story that has been repeated, I believe, by every writer on the City of Washington. It is told with numerous variations, but was first recorded by Ben Perley Poore who heard it from his grandfather. As Poore tells the story, Washington having agreed with the Commissioners that what is now Lafayette Square should be a reservation, rode over to the house of David Burnes, who owned the property, to negotiate with him for its acquisition. Burnes refused to donate any more ground for public use. After a protracted argument, Washington lost his temper and said: "Had not the Federal City been laid out here, you would

have died a poor tobacco planter." To this the Scotchman retorted: "Aye, mon! an' had ye nae married the Widow Custis, wi' a' her nagurs, you would hae been a land surveyor to-day, an' a mighty poor one at that."

In the first place David Burnes never owned the land now occupied by Lafayette Square. It was originally held by the Pierce family and passed to the Government through George Walker. Burnes's name is the second among the signers of the agreement with the original proprietors and there is no record whatever of any difficulty with him. On the contrary, in the President's letter from Charleston to the Commissioners, May 7, 1791, respecting these disputes he mentions five discontented proprietors, but Burnes is not included among them. It is very unlikely that the farmer would have spoken to the President in the manner described and much more unlikely that Washington made use of the language attributed to him which is utterly inconsistent with what we know of his character and habit.

More than one writer has fancifully described David Burnes as an ignorant uncouth Scotchman. There is no evidence that he was other than an American by birth like almost all of his neighbors. If he had been the rude boor he is pictured, it is difficult to account for men of education and refine-

ment, such as Van Ness — who married his daughter — frequenting his house as we know that they did.

In short there does not appear to be a single point in the Burnes story to recommend it to the credence of a sensible person.

Aside from his natural desire to accelerate the establishment of the city in which he was keenly interested, Washington was moved by apprehension on account of the opposition to it and the undisguised plans to retain the seat of government permanently in Philadelphia. A few days after his agreement with the proprietors he writes to the Commissioners, urging expedition and quoting a recent letter from Jefferson in which the Secretary wrote: "A bill was yesterday ordered to be brought into the House of Representatives here for granting a sum of money for building a Federal Hall, house for the President." As to which the President comments: "This, though I do not want any sentiment of mine promulgated with respect to it, marked unequivocally in my mind the designs of that State, and the necessity of exertion to carry the residence law into effect."

The survey had been completed according to the directions already cited,* and on April 15, 1791, the corner-stone which now forms part of the founda-

* In 1881 it was found to be defective, each line being from 63 to 230 feet in excess of ten miles.

tion of the Jones Point Light-house, was laid at the extremity of "the upper cape of Hunting Creek, in Virginia," by Doctor Elisha Cullen Dick with Masonic rites.*

It will be observed that in the agreement with the proprietors, the name "Federal City" occurs several times and as this is the first record of that designation it may be attributed to Washington, for he doubtless drafted the document in question. A few months later the Commissioners wrote to Major L'Enfant: "We have agreed that the Federal district shall be called the 'Territory of Columbia,' and the Federal City the 'City of Washington.' The title of the map will, therefore, be 'A Map of the City of Washington in the Territory of Columbia.'"

"We have also agreed the streets to be named alphabetically one way, and numerically the other, the former divided into north and south letters and the latter into east and west numbers from the Capitol."

The Commissioners had no authority of law for conferring names upon the district and city, but their dictum does not appear to have been questioned and with slight modification their nomenclature obtains to-day. But, although the territory

* Doctor Dick was the first physician to reach the bedside of Washington in his fatal illness and remained with him to the last.

is frequently mentioned in statutes as the "District of Columbia" previous to that year, it is first so definitely designated by law in the opening paragraph of an act passed June 11, 1878, which provides:

"That all the territory which was ceded by the State of Maryland to the Congress of the United States for the permanent seat of the Government of the United States shall *continue* to be designated as the *District of Columbia*." (20 Stats. 102.)

CHAPTER III.

PLANNING THE CITY.

THERE prevails in this country a popular belief — which is not shared by intelligent foreigners — that the plan of the City of Washington was the mental creation of Charles L'Enfant, the Frenchman. It is less difficult to trace the source and growth of this fallacious idea than it is to find substantial ground for its maintenance. Contemporaries of Major L'Enfant and later writers have been too ready to accept the production of a physical plan as evidence of creative conception.

We have ample proof that Washington and Jefferson entertained many original ideas on the subject and took the keenest interest in it. Under such circumstances it is not reasonable to suppose that they left the matter entirely, or in large part, to a young man of limited experience. The magnitude and grandeur of the design is sufficient refutation of such a supposition. We can not imagine L'Enfant planning a city upon such lines in the face of the opposing opinion of almost the whole nation. With the exception of Madison, George

Washington was the only man among the leaders of his people who cherished such an abounding faith in the growth of the young republic as to justify provision for a future population of half a million or more.* To Washington we owe, without doubt, the conception as a whole and to Jefferson much of the detail. This we may concede without robbing Charles L'Enfant of the credit due him for his fine professional achievement in constructing the plan.

The name of L'Enfant is inseparably connected with the City of Washington. To him is justly conceded the honor of being the author of the original plan, the principal features of which were adhered to in laying out the capital. The fame of L'Enfant seems to have completely overshadowed the achievements of a no less able man — Andrew Ellicott — who played an important part in the work and completed the official map.

Pierre Charles L'Enfant came to America from France in 1777, being then twenty-two years of age. He had been a lieutenant in the Provincial Service of his native country and when he tendered his sword to the Continental Army he was commissioned Captain of Engineers. His services earned

*The year before his death, Washington wrote to Mrs. Fairfax: "A century hence, if this country keeps united, it will produce a city though not as large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe." He referred to the capital, which he confidently believed would become the chief city of the country.

him promotion to the rank of Major and at the close of the war he remained in the country, engaging in the business of civil engineer and architect. He erected an important structure for the corporation of New York and was the designer and builder of "Morris's Folly" in Philadelphia, which was never completed.

Andrew Ellicott came of a remarkable Quaker family whose members by their inventions and enterprise contributed largely to the industrial progress of their age. He was one year older than L'Enfant and like him served in the Revolutionary War. Ellicott early gained distinction as a surveyor—one of the most useful and responsible professions of the time—and was employed in many important tasks. In 1784 he ran the boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania and in the following year, jointly with David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter, located the western line of the latter State. In 1798 he was commissioned by President Washington to settle by survey the boundary dispute between the States of New York and Pennsylvania and to decide the location of the town of Erie which New York claimed as within its confines. In later years Andrew Ellicott was regarded as one of the leading scientists of the time—particularly in the branches of astronomy and mathematics. The greatest men of the time entertained the highest estimate of his talents.

Addressing the Commissioners, January 15, 1791, Thomas Jefferson writes:

“The President thinks it better that the outline at least of the City, and perhaps Georgetown should be laid down in the plat of the territory. I have the honor now to send it and to desire that Major Ellicott may do it as soon as convenient, that it may be returned in time to be laid before Congress.”

February 2, 1791, the Secretary of State instructs Ellicott to “proceed by the first stage to the Federal territory on the Potomac, for the purpose of making a survey of it.” The date of his commission and his previous employments entirely refute the careless statement of some writers that Major Ellicott secured his appointment to service in connection with the capital operations by undermining L’Enfant.

In March, 1791, Jefferson directed L’Enfant to go to Georgetown for the purpose of making “drawings of the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the Federal town and the buildings.” A few months later, Colonel John Trumbull, the painter, passing through Georgetown on his round of making studies of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, “found Major L’Enfant drawing his plan of the City of Washington.”

It is almost certain that Washington and Jeffer-

son contributed in important measure to the design, the one out of his great intellect, professional ability and familiarity with the principal towns of the country; the other from his wide knowledge of European cities. To Washington must be attributed the idea of laying out a capital adapted to a population of eight hundred thousand in a country containing less than five million people. To him, penetrating the future with the eye of faith, appeared upon this spot one of the great commercial centers of the world — the focal point of a powerful nation. From personal observation of foreign capitals Jefferson was able to — and doubtless did — afford the designer many useful suggestions. If the truth were known Jefferson's hand might be discernible in a much larger portion of the plan than we imagine. In April, 1791, he writes to L'Enfant:

“In compliance with your request, I have examined my papers and found the plans of Frankfort-on-the-Mayne, Carlsruhe, Paris, Amsterdam, Strasburg, Paris, Orleans, Bordeaux, Lyons, Montpellier, Marseilles, Turin, and Milan, which I send in a roll by the post. They are on large and accurate scale, having been procured by me while in those respective cities myself. As they are connected with notes I made in my travels, and often necessary to explain them to myself, I will beg your care of them, and to return them when no

longer useful to you, leaving you absolutely free to keep them as long as useful. I am happy that the President has left the planning of the town in such good hands, and have no doubt it will be done to general satisfaction."

In the same letter the Secretary volunteers a suggestion, thus: "Whenever it is proposed to prepare plans for the Capitol, I should prefer the adoption of some one of the models of antiquity, which have had the approbation of thousands of years; and for the President's house, I should prefer the celebrated fronts of modern buildings, which have already received the approbation of all good judges, such are the Galerie de Louvre, the Garden Meubles, and two fronts of the Hotel du Salm."

Many of the details of his plan L'Enfant derived from features of European cities and some of them, perhaps, from those of American towns. Glenn Brown * is of the opinion that the plan may have been influenced by the scheme of Annapolis which "has two focal points from which several streets radiate," and that the idea of them all may have had its origin in the similar feature of Williamsburg, Virginia. "Washington was familiar with these two cities and undoubtedly appreciated the pleasing effect of their plans." However, that may be, L'Enfant's design was in no sense a copy but

* The author of numerous interesting and valuable papers and magazine articles relating to Washington as viewed from its architectural and landscape standpoints.

bears the stamp of originality and a fine artistic conception. The resemblance at points between Washington and the Paris of to-day has given rise to a wide-spread belief that the arrangement of the former is based upon the plan of the latter. Such, however, is by no means the case. In the Champs Elysees and Versailles, a landscape architect, striving after beauty and natural effect, could hardly have failed to find inspiration, but otherwise there was little in the Paris of the eighteenth century that would have appealed to him. Its present system of radiating avenues, begun by the First, and completed by the Third, Napoleon, may, indeed, have been suggested by the arrangement of the City of Washington, the engraved plan of which was extensively circulated in Europe before it was put into execution.

Following a general report on the treatment of the site, L'Enfant submitted a tentative plan in June, 1791. This did not meet with the approval of the President, who returned it with suggestions for alteration. Two months later the engineer made his final report and accompanied it with a complete and annotated map. Nor does this appear to have satisfied General Washington. He forwarded it to Congress but in his letter of transmission intimated that it was not final and requested its return. Referring to the matter six years later, the President wrote: "After the map had been sent to

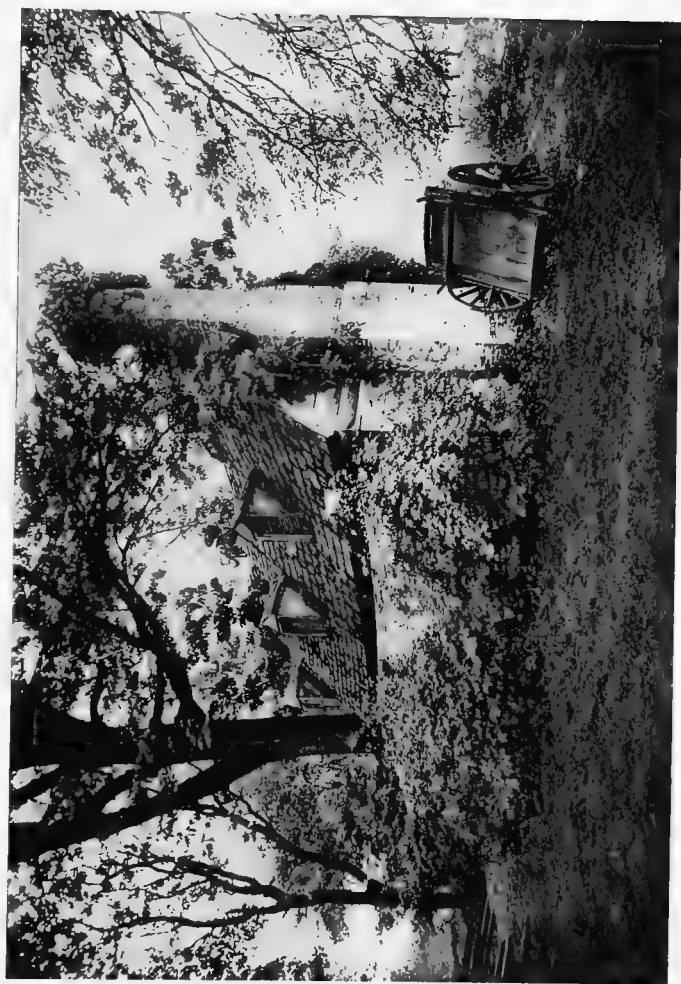
Congress several errors were discovered and corrected, many alterations made, and the appropriations * (except as to the Capitol and President's house) struck out."

This plan of L'Enfant's contained several features which were rejected but might have been adopted with advantage to the future city. From the Capitol to the "President's park" was to run a "Grand Avenue, 400 feet in breadth, and about a mile in length, bordered with gardens, ending in a slope from houses on each side." This avenue was retained in Ellicott's drawing and now exists as the "Mall." The recent building operations upon it are designed to produce something of the grandeur conceived by L'Enfant. He intended to place at its termination, on the spot now occupied by the Monument, the equestrian statue of George Washington, voted by the Continental Congress. It was contemplated that this spacious thoroughfare should be lined with public buildings and with the residences of high officials and foreign ministers.

The most curious feature of the plan is the appropriation of a square for the erection of a church, to be devoted to "National purposes, such as public prayer, thanksgivings, funeral orations, etc., and assigned to the special use of no particular sect or denomination, but equally open to all." It was further designed to contain "such monuments as

* "Appropriations" or reservations of sites, that is.

Burnes' Cottage



were voted by the late Continental Congress, for those heroes who fell in the cause of liberty, and for such others as may hereafter be decreed by the voice of a grateful nation." The edifice is shown in Elliott's map, although it is not easy to believe that the proposition for the establishment of an institution of religious character by the Government could have had the endorsement of Washington or Jefferson. It is probable that L'Enfant had Westminster Abbey in mind when he made the suggestion.

The plan also appropriates squares "for the use of all religious denominations" on which it was intended they should erect individual places of worship.

Water was to have been a prominent feature in the ornamentation of the city according to L'Enfant's design. Noting that "there are within the limits of the City, above twenty-five good springs of excellent water abundantly supplied in the driest season of the year," he provides for "five grand fountains, intended with a constant spout of water," one to be placed on Pennsylvania Avenue, midway between the "President's Palace and the Congress House," and the others at conspicuous points. The waters of the Tiber, which had a fall of over two hundred feet in their course through the city, were to be led "to the high ground where the Congress House stands, and after watering that part of the city, the overplus to fall from under the base of

that edifice, and in a cascade of twenty feet in height and fifty feet in breadth into the reservoir below; thence to run in three fills * through the garden into the Grand Canal."

The Grand Canal, designed to afford "a free flowing fresh waterway through the heart of the city and effectively drain the lowland along its course," started where the Tiber joined the Potomac at the foot of Seventeenth street; thence it ran straight along the "Grand Avenue" to the reservoir of the "Grand Cascade," continuing along the course of the Saint James Creek, and finally reaching the Potomac through Greenleaf's Point. The scheme of the canal evidently appealed to Jefferson, for in the next year we find him urging it upon the Commissioners. No steps for its construction were taken, however, until Congress — some seventeen years later — incorporated the "Washington Canal Company." The resultant waterway, which was in use for about half a century, became an unsightly nuisance and a menace to health, and was filled in.

The plan provided for a reservation — and this feature was among those approved by the President — of somewhat more than two acres at the place marked on the map for one of the "grand fountains," and now occupied by the Central Market.

* Doubtless *fills*, that is *fills d'eau*. L'Enfant never acquired great facility in writing English and, although he spent the latter two-thirds of his life in America, always spoke with a foreign accent.

It is to be deplored that this public plot, with its exceptional capacity for beautification, fell into the hands of a private corporation and became the *point d'appui* of the kitchen and the larder. It is to be hoped — and, indeed, expected — that in the execution of the projected improvement of “the Avenue,” this reservation will be recovered and devoted to some less unlovely and prosaic purpose.

L'Enfant designed a square in front of the Capitol and “around this square, and all along the Avenue (East Capitol street), from the two bridges to the Federal house, the pavement on each side,” throughout its entire length of a mile, was to “pass under an arched way, under whose cover, shops” might “be most conveniently and agreeably situated.” This idea accorded with the general opinion at the time that the city would grow up most thickly in the sections immediately around the Capitol and to the south and east of it. So we find the designer placing two of the three markets for which he provides, at deep water on the bank of the Eastern Branch.

Washington and Jefferson, eager to commence building and desirous to obtain from the sale of lots the money with which to prosecute the work, repeatedly urged L'Enfant toward the completion of the plan, upon which everything else had necessarily to wait. L'Enfant was opposed to the publication of the map and in his final report to the Presi-

dent argued against it on the ground that speculators would take advantage of the knowledge of the arrangement proposed for the city to buy large parcels of land in particularly favorable sections. Such a consideration had, of course, no connection with the business of the engineer or architect, and this was pointed out to him. Failing to move the President by his arguments, he endeavored with characteristic obstinacy, to carry his point by delaying the engraving of the map and his persistent insubordination at last brought matters to a crisis.

To his relative, David Stuart, one of the Commissioners, Washington wrote, November 20, 1791:

“ I had heard before the receipt of your letter of the 29th of October, and with a degree of surprise and concern not easy to be expressed, that Major L’Enfant had refused the Map of the Federal City, when it was requested by the Commissioners for the satisfaction of the purchasers at the sale. . . . I have, however, since I have come to the knowledge of Major L’Enfant’s refusal of the map at the sale, given him to understand through a direct channel, though not an official one as yet, . . . that he must in future look to the Commissioners for directions; that, they having laid the foundation of this great design, the superstructure depended upon them; that I was perfectly satisfied his plans and opinions would have due weight if properly offered and explained. . . . He conceives, or would

have others believe, that the sale was promoted by withholding the general map, and thereby the means of comparison; but I caused it to be signified to him, that I am of a different opinion, and that it is much easier to impede than to force a sale, as none who knew what they were about would be induced to buy (to borrow an old adage), a pig in a poke. . . . When I see Major L'Enfant, who it is said will shortly be here, I shall endeavor to bring him to some explanation of the terms on which he will serve the public; and will impress upon him the necessity of dispatch, that as early a sale as circumstances will admit may ensue."

Probably anticipating the final rupture with Major L'Enfant, the Secretary of State addressed Andrew Ellicott, who was at work in the district, as follows, in a letter dated November 21, 1791:

"It is excessively desirable that an extensive sale of lots in Washington should take place as soon as possible. It has been recommended by the Commissioners to have all the squares adjacent to the avenue from the President's house to the Capitol, on both sides, and from thence to the river, through the whole breadth of the ground between Rock Creek and the Eastern Branch first laid off; the object of the present is to ask your private opinion of the earliest time at which this portion of the work can be completed, which I will beg the favor of you to communicate to me by letter. In order

that the sale may not be delayed by the engraving, it is hoped that by communicating, what is executed from time to time, the engraver may nearly keep pace with you."

During the ensuing months the same urgency is exhibited on one side and met with obstinate disregard on the other. The Commissioners find it impossible to secure from Major L'Enfant acknowledgment of their authority or conformity with their suggestions, and their report to this effect elicits the following letter from the Secretary of State under date, February 22, 1792:

"The advance of the season begins to require that the plans for the buildings and other public works at the Federal city, should be in readiness, and the persons engaged who are to carry them into execution, the circumstances which have lately happened have produced an uncertainty whether you may be disposed to continue your services there. I am charged by the President to say that your continuance would be desirable to him; and at the same time to add that the law requires it should be in subordination to the commissioners. . . . I must beg the favor of your answer whether you will continue your services on the footing expressed in this letter."

The reply to this communication was quite unsatisfactory and drew from Jefferson an ultimatum in the following terms:

“From your letter received yesterday in answer to my last, and your declaration in conversation with Mr. Lear, it is understood that you absolutely decline acting under the authority of the present Commissioners; if this understanding of your meaning be right, I am instructed by the President to inform you that notwithstanding the desire he has entertained to preserve your agency in the business, the condition upon which it is to be done is inadmissible, and your services must be at an end.”

A few days later, Jefferson informed the Commissioners that “it having been found impracticable to employ Major L’Enfant about the Federal city in that degree of subordination which was lawful and proper,” he had been formally dismissed. “It is now proper,” the writer continued, “that he should receive the reward of his past services; and the wish that he should have no just cause of discontent, suggests that it should be liberal. The President thinks two thousand five hundred, or three thousand dollars. But leaves the determination to you.”

Ellicott, who was upon the ground and already engaged in the work, was the natural successor to L’Enfant. In the letter which informs the Commissioners of the dismissal of the latter, Jefferson instructs them that “Ellicott is to go on, the week after next, to finish laying off the plan on the ground, and surveying and platting the district.”

It is altogether a mistake to assume, as most writers have done, that Ellicott did no more than to copy a finished plan of L'Enfant's. The former has never received credit for his important share in the planning of the city. It does not seem to be generally realized that he entered upon the work before L'Enfant did and was engaged in it during the entire year of the Frenchman's service. Ellicott's claim to recognition is not based upon hypothesis or surmise, but rests upon unquestionable evidence.

During the early constructive period of the capital, numerous disputes arose between the Commissioners and owners of city property, growing out of the many alterations made in the plan. In 1802, a committee was appointed by the House to inquire into the facts and examine the claims of the respective interests. This committee reported to the Seventh Congress at its first session. Careful search fails to reveal any recorded contradiction of their conclusions in the matter under immediate consideration.

The report runs as follows: "Your committee find that the plan of the city was originally designed by Mr. L'Enfant, but it was in many respects rejected by the President of the United States, and a plan drawn by Mr. Ellicott purporting to have been made from actual survey, which recognized the alterations made therein, and which was engraved

and published by the order of General Washington in the year 1792. This plan was circulated by the Government through the United States, and sent to our agents in Europe, by authority of the Government, as the plan of the City and is the only one which has ever been engraved and published; this is generally known by the appellation of the engraved plan."

In continuance this report cites a formal statement by a number of citizens to President Adams in 1798: "While Mr. Ellicott was surveyor a plan was engraved by the direction of the Commissioners, and a very numerous impression taken therefrom. . . . This plan although it differed in many respects from that by which the first sales were made — and which had been laid before Congress," (that is the final plan of L'Enfant, submitted to the President in August, 1791), "was generally considered as the final plan of the City; and from that period sales have invariably been made in conformity therewith, under the idea that the sanction under which it issued was a sufficient guarantee of its stability. It has already been observed that there were several alterations made in the plan between Mr. L'Enfant's first design, and the publishing of the last engraved plan in Philadelphia, by the Commissioners, and promulgated as the plan of the City."

From the Commissioners, under date March 23; 1802, the Chairman of the Committee received the following significant communication:

“Major L’Enfant’s plan of the City was sent to the House of Representatives on the 13th of December, 1791, by President Washington for the information of the House and *afterward withdrawn*. Many alterations were made therefrom by Major Ellicott with the approbation of the President and under his authority; all the appropriations except as to the Capitol and President’s house were struck out and the plan thus altered sent to the engravers, intending that work and the promulgation thereof to give the final and regulating stamp.”

In 1797, Washington wrote to the Commissioners in the following unequivocal terms: “That many alterations have been made from L’Enfant’s plan by Major Ellicott with the approbation of the Executive is not denied; that *some were deemed essential* is avowed and had it not been for the materials which he happened to possess, it is probable that no engraving from L’Enfant’s draughts ever would have been exhibited to the public, for after the disagreement took place between him and the Commissioners, his obstinacy threw every difficulty in the way of its accomplishment. To this summary it may be added that Mr. Davidson”—(one of the complainants)—“is mistaken if he supposes that the transmission of Major L’Enfant’s plan of the

City to Congress was the completion thereof; so far from it, it will appear by the message which accompanied the same that *it was given as a matter of information only*, to show what state the business was in and the return of it requested. That neither House of Congress passed any act consequent thereupon; that it remained as before, under the control of the Executive, that afterwards *several errors were discovered and corrected, many alterations made, and the appropriations, except as to the Capitol and the President's house, struck out* under authority before it was sent to the engraver intending that work and the promulgation thereof were to give the final and regulating stamp."

In a later letter to William Thornton, the President said: "I have never had but one opinion on this subject, and that is that nothing ought to justify a departure from the engraved plan, but the probability of some great public benefit, or unavoidable necessity."

From the foregoing it is clear that the only approved and accepted plan of the City of Washington was drawn by Andrew Ellicott and that it contained many and important divergencies from L'Enfant's design. It is very evident that the talented Quaker rendered highly valuable services in the laying out of the city and more than probable that his was one of the several minds that undoubtedly contributed to the conception. The correspondence of the time

shows that both Washington and Jefferson were highly appreciative of Ellicott's work in the district and that they had begun — at least tentatively — to consider his substitution for L'Enfant several months before the necessity arose.

If the inquisitor would arrive at truth he must steel himself against the lure of sentiment. With a lively sympathy for the erratic genius to whom we are in great measure indebted for the possession of the most beautiful city in the world, I have striven, whilst refraining from the extravagant encomiums and the exaggerated pity which writers have generally bestowed upon L'Enfant, to do full justice to his claims upon our admiration and gratitude. To him is undoubtedly due the credit for the construction of the general scheme of the City of Washington and for its most distinctive feature, the avenues radiating from central points, embellished by pleasance and statuary. For originality of design and artistic effect the plan has elicited the highest praise from the most critical judges and its fundamental idea has been universally approved by architects and artists.

It is to be hoped that nothing in these pages will be construed as an effort to detract from L'Enfant's right to be considered a man of the highest talents and professional ability. No such object is sought, or desired, but without in any way impairing the full concession of the Frenchman's genius, it may

be possible to show that his achievement fell short of its promise — so short, indeed, as to have failed entirely of practical result but for the assistance of another.

In the final analysis, it is to the man of action and not to the dreamer, that the world is indebted for benefits enjoyed and to him the reward is justly paid. Not to him who generates an idea, so much as to him who puts it into concrete form, is our gratitude directed. Estimated upon this principle, without sentimental bias, L'Enfant's service does not loom so large to our vision as it has been depicted and we are, perhaps, prompted to a more appreciative consideration of the active and effective part played by others in the early operations.

L'Enfant had the artistic temperament in such a pronounced degree that it blinded him to many of the vital exigencies of the occasion and placed him in constant variance with the Commissioners. They, as well as Washington and Jefferson, had to treat the establishment of the city largely as a business proposition. This was a view which the enthusiastic and visionary Frenchman was incapable of accepting. Regardless of the fact that the building operations were mainly dependent upon the sale of lots, he impeded the object by withholding his plan from the view of prospective purchasers, for fear that extensive improvements — which were earnestly desired by the President and Commis-

sioners — might interfere with his design and mar its beauty. The President's disapproval of the plans and the changes wrought in them are accounted for by this tendency on the part of L'Enfant to overlook practical considerations. He was too often inclined to sacrifice convenience and utility to beauty and ornament.

The extremely high estimate in which he held his own talents and abilities led him to adhere to his opinions with a tenacity quite foreign to reason and good judgment. The fatuous obstinacy with which he blighted his prospects and impaired his affairs is pitiful to contemplate. He scorned the conciliatory offices of the President and Secretary of State in their efforts to establish an *entente cordiale* between him and the Commissioners; he curtly refused the compensation promptly tendered to him for his services, although it seems to have been liberal and was the sum suggested by General Washington; he rejected, apparently without consideration, the urgent advice of President Monroe to accept the proffered position of instructor at West Point, and this despite the fact that the opportunity offered an escape from the imminent prospect of poverty.

Considering his military training, Major L'Enfant was singularly deficient in the sense of discipline. His dealings with the Commissioners were constantly characterized by insubordination upon

his part and this was later extended to his relations with the President and Secretary of State. The wonder is, not that he was dismissed, but that he was not dismissed sooner. The remarkable forbearance of General Washington was due no doubt, in large measure, to an appreciation of L'Enfant's exceptional talents, but it was also influenced by the fear, which Jefferson expressed, that "the enemies of the enterprise" would "take advantage of the retirement of L'Enfant to trumpet an abortion of the whole."

This gifted, but unbalanced, foreigner has left in his own handwriting ample evidence of the jealousy and suspicion to which he was prone and which he indulged to the extremity of his pettiness. In August, 1791, Jefferson writes to him: "A person applied to me the other day on the subject of engraving a map of the Federal territory. I observed to him that if yourself or Mr. Ellicott chose to have this done you would have the best right to do it." L'Enfant underscores the word "Ellicott" and writes at the bottom of the page: "What right could this man have thereto." What right, indeed, farther than that he had been employed by the Government to make a survey of the territory in question before L'Enfant entered its service, and was then engaged in the work.*

* See letter of Jefferson conveying instructions to Ellicott, p. 42.

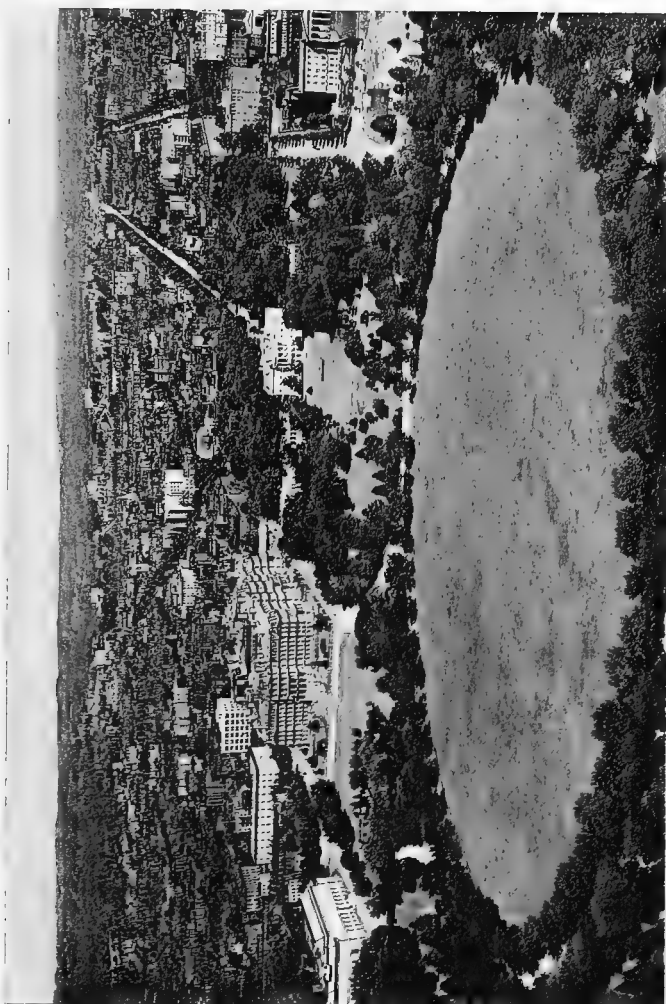
Now note the contrast between the puerile attitude of L'Enfant, as evinced in this note, and the genial good-will expressed in the following extract from a letter written by Ellicott to his wife, *almost upon the same day*.

“We have a most elegant camp and things are in fine order, but where you are not there are no charms. I expect my companion, Major L'Enfant, which is pronounced in English Lonfong, will pay you a visit in my name next week, he is a most worthy French gentleman and tho' not one of the most handsome of men, he is from his good breeding, and native politeness, a first rate favorite among the ladies.”

It is impossible to suppress a wish that Major L'Enfant had displayed a little less of the “native politeness” of the Frenchman if it might have been compensated for by a little more of the manly ingenuousness of the Quaker American.

L'Enfant suspected and, indeed, accused Ellicott of having undermined him with the authorities. There is not one iota of evidence to support the accusation and it is difficult to find any ground, apart from the natural disposition of the man, to support the suspicion. Ellicott was on hardly better terms with the Commissioners than was L'Enfant and it is clear that the President was influenced solely by his private judgment in breaking with the difficult Frenchman. But, perhaps, the best refutation is to

View North from Washington Monument



be found in the frank and generous character which distinguished Andrew Ellicott throughout his long and honorable career and gained for him the confidence and friendship of the most estimable men in the nation.

Nor is it possible to entertain seriously the charge of Major L'Enfant that the Commissioners, or their agents with their knowledge, stole his effects, including his plans and notes. That they were purloined seems to be a fact, but the most probable explanation of the affair is that the theft was contrived by one or more of the many persons who desired for purposes of speculation to secure exact information of the proposed arrangement of the capital. It is entirely beyond the bounds of reason to suppose that men deservedly enjoying the high reputation which attached to each of the three Commissioners could have had any hand wittingly in such a proceeding.

L'Enfant embodied his charge against the Commissioners in a formal affidavit and there is no doubt that he was convinced of the truth of it, for his honesty was beyond question. He was in a particularly favorable position to have made money surreptitiously in connection with the task entrusted to him and, in view of the numerous endeavors to induce the Commissioners to alter details of the plan for the personal benefit of the applicants, it is safe to surmise that L'Enfant did not lack of

opportunity to improve his condition by prostituting his office.

The extravagant fancies which this unfortunate man allowed to take possession of his mind find frequent illustration in his letters and memorials. In 1800, he points out to the Commissioners that it is due to his exertions that in the end the city is to become a rich corporation and, "if the progress has not been so rapid nor so brilliant" as was hoped, it is due to departure from his principles. Jealousy had caused his removal and immediately after his departure, as a direct result, the enterprise fell into a deplorable state.

Referring to Ellicott, whom he styles without warrant one of his "Assistants," he claims to have been injured — and the wrong is by inference charged to Washington and Jefferson — by the "deception of employing near me a disguised personage who rendering himself serviceable gained free access to all my papers and so honorably acquitted of his Secret Commission gathering all by transcription and chalk out of Manuscripts and Drawings as to have at the opportune moment secured all that could serve to others to reap reputation and profit from my labors."

Pages of this sort of intemperate and fallacious statement are followed by pages of highly exaggerated expression of the merit and value of L'Enfant's services. It is very tedious reading and excites

pity for the deluded writer, who displays a sincere belief in the truth of his accusations and the justice of his claims.

To the Senate he addresses a fantastic memorial, asking their consideration of "injury done to my fame as an Artist" and "of the resulting injury to my fortune." On the latter score, after showing that he should have gained from thirty thousand to sixty thousand dollars from the sale of maps of the City of Washington, he goes on to state that his removal from New York entailed the sacrifice "of great chances of fortune" and the absolute loss of a property worth five thousand dollars "through contrivance of some malevolent avaricious men amongst the Corporation of that City."

Then he appears to have had a contingent interest in some prospective company for the improvement of the City of Washington, whose plan, as he outlines it, seems to savor strongly of the speculative schemes that he denounces with so much vigor and might afford a detractor ground for impugning his good faith in withholding the plans from the public. The memorial goes on to say that "those Jealousies and Speculations Contradictory to my System Caused me the loss of a bargain of \$50,000, a Sum of right perquisite accruing from particular Companies Entreprises of building in amount at first place of \$1,000,000 and which Intended to double that Sum with an Increase of the benefit to me,

being to have been planed and conducted in concert and to the advancement of the public part of Improvements were Consequently to have depended upon my direction."

L'Enfant's papers abound in chimerical statements and reckless expressions. Even though we make the most liberal allowance for his limited facility in the use of English, his sentiments and language must excite our condemnation. He seems to have conceived that the whole world was in league against him, whereas, the truth is that himself was his worst enemy. There was apparently a general disposition to treat him kindly and with the utmost consideration. Whilst his writings teem with vituperation, I have not been able to find a line of similar abuse directed towards him by another. On the contrary, letters addressed to him and those in which he is referred to, are almost uniformly couched in respectful and genial terms.

In writing of L'Enfant, most writers appear to have been moved by maudlin sentiment rather than by consideration of the facts. He is referred to as "the unhonored and neglected" genius, the man whose inestimable services to this country met with cold ingratitude, and in similar strain, inferentially reflecting upon those responsible for his employment.

As to his reward: L'Enfant was in the service of this Government precisely twelve months. He

was dismissed on account of flagrant insubordination. Jefferson's letter informing the Commissioners * of the fact, also instructs them to make a liberal reward to the engineer for his past services and states that "the President thinks two thousand five hundred or three thousand dollars" would be an equitable amount. In the course of a few days the Commissioners reply to the Secretary stating that they have adopted the President's suggestion as to compensating Major L'Enfant, that he has already received about six hundred dollars from them in addition to his living expenses and that they do not anticipate his dissatisfaction with the settlement.

On the same day the Commissioners notified L'Enfant, in Philadelphia, that they have placed the sum of five hundred guineas to his credit with a firm of that city and that they will also deed to him a lot, either near the President's house or near the Capitol, as he may choose.

The sum mentioned was equivalent to \$2,399 in Pennsylvania currency and added to the \$600 already advanced would have practically amounted to \$3,000. The lot in either of the locations mentioned would probably have been worth \$500. The total, especially when considered in connection with a year's living expenses, would appear to be a most liberal compensation. This view did not at all ac-

* See extract from Jefferson's letter to the Commissioners, p. 53.

cord, however, with L'Enfant's ideas. He rejected the offer and one of the grievances enumerated in a later memorial is "the hearty and pressant manner of a tender of a little money expressedly as acquit of all obligations the rejection of which was commended by feelings of a better due."

Estimated in the light of the conditions of the times and considered in comparison with the salaries paid to Washington, Jefferson and Hamilton * for their invaluable services, the remuneration awarded to Major L'Enfant, who repeatedly professes to have been actuated by patriotic zeal, is suggestive of generosity. How far it fell short of the Frenchman's estimate of the value of his services is shown by the claim against the Government which he advanced eight years later. In this the sums due to him are itemized as follows: For one year's labor, \$8,000; for the profit he should have received from the sale of maps, \$37,500; "for perquisites of right in particular negotiations and enterprises," \$50,000; a total of \$95,500. It is needless to say that this claim was not seriously considered by Congress. A bill was, however, passed in 1804, authorizing the Superintendent of the city to settle the claim "in the manner, and on the terms heretofore proposed, by the said Com-

* Jefferson and Hamilton each received an annual salary of \$3,500 as Secretary of State and Secretary of the Treasury, respectively.

missioners." One of L'Enfant's creditors secured a judgment against him before this money could be paid and he received none of it. Six years later he was awarded \$2,394 by act of Congress, the amount being reckoned as the equivalent of the five hundred guineas placed to his credit by the Commissioners.

L'Enfant, after his severance from the City of Washington, performed important services for the Government in the capacity of engineer and in 1812 was offered a professorship at West Point. He spent his last years in poverty, but comfort, as the honored guest of William Dudley Digges at Green Hill and was buried in the private graveyard which, after the manner of the time, lay adjacent to the house. For many years before his death — at the age of seventy — in 1825, he was a familiar figure to the inhabitants of the District — a tall, melancholy man of distinguished appearance, dressed in thread-bare surtout, and high bell-crowned hat, leaning heavily upon a staff and followed by half a dozen hunting dogs.

It is reasonably asserted that the capital should contain some memorial of Pierre Charles L'Enfant but what more splendid monument could he have than the city itself? The absence of a statue or similar material testimony to his genius loses much of its significance when we remember that nothing

of the sort in Washington commemorates the superlative services of Alexander Hamilton, who in intellect had no peer among his contemporaries, and in achievement but one.*

* As these pages go to press, a bill is before Congress for the purpose of removing the bones of L'Enfant to the campus of the Catholic University and erecting a monument over them, and a movement to raise a statue in memory of Hamilton by private subscription has been started.

CHAPTER IV.

BREAKING GROUND.

THE Commissioners were confronted by a task of extraordinary difficulty. In less than ten years time there was to be evolved from a tract of land, almost uninhabited and more than half occupied by swamp and woodland, a city capable of accommodating the personnel and machinery of the Government, as well as the additional population that would naturally be attracted to its seat. Whilst theoretically they were responsible only for the public works, it actually devolved upon them to ensure the erection of private buildings without which the transfer of the Government to the new capital would be impracticable. Indeed, the investment of private capital was essential to the advancement of the project in its initial stage, for the funds with which to prosecute the work of construction were chiefly to be derived from the sale of the surplus land acquired from the original proprietors. But the enterprise altogether lacked the encouragement of popular interest or the advantage of popular co-operation. The general attitude towards it was

that of indifference or scepticism. There existed a wide-spread conviction that the proposed capital would never be established in Washington and active forces opposed the accomplishment of the design. This condition prevailed during the entire period of preliminary preparation.

Weld, who was a close and judicious observer, writing in 1796, said:* “Notwithstanding all that has been done at the city, and the large sums of money that have been expended, there are numbers of people in the United States living to the north of the Potomac, particularly in Philadelphia, who are still very adverse to the removal of the seat of government hither and are doing all in their power to check the progress of the buildings in the city, and to prevent Congress from meeting there at the proper time.”

Sufficiently onerous without complication, the work of the Commissioners was rendered doubly arduous by the disputes and dissensions to which every transaction of importance gave birth. That body was a storm-center upon which constantly converged the full force of disturbances innumerable and various. They fell out with L’Enfant and with Ellicott. They had frequent difficulties with the original proprietors and with purchasers of city lots. These vexed them with questions of boundary

* Travels through the States of North America during the years 1795, 1796, 1797. Isaac Weld, junior.

and the locations of public edifices. Their relations with the early capitalists were marked by disagreements and legal contests and their dealings with contractors and architects were hardly less disagreeable. In short, the Commissioners seem to have experienced trouble with almost every person who was brought into business contact with them. As a result the superficial reader of the history of the times can hardly fail to gain an impression that they were an exacting and a quarrelsome body. A little delving below the surface affords ample ground for a change of opinion, however. The Commissioners had to contend with an exceedingly complicated condition of affairs, to withstand rapacity and chicanery and to treat conflicting interests in a spirit of equity. As guardians of the public property their duty often compelled them to action at variance with the wishes of private owners and they naturally created many enemies among the speculators who were disappointed in their roseate dreams. An impartial investigation of the facts must lead to the conclusion that the early Commissioners of the District of Columbia acquitted themselves well and honorably in the performance of a task which demanded the exercise of extreme patience and good judgment and afforded wide opportunity for personal profit by devious methods. They made mistakes and were sometimes arbitrary in their decisions but, when the circumstances are

considered, they excite wonder that such failings were not more frequently exhibited.

It was hoped that the serious embarrassment due to the lack of funds would be greatly relieved by the sale of lots. Hence the urgent pressure upon L'Enfant for the completion of the map of the city. The agreement with the property holders and subsequent legislation by the State of Maryland, secured to the Government five hundred and forty-one acres of the most desirable building sites within the confines of the capital and six hundred and six acres in the streets and avenues. This property, which is now probably worth three hundred and fifty millions of dollars, was acquired at a cost of somewhat less than thirty-seven thousand.

The public response to the offer of lots in the embryo city disappointed alike the expectations of the Administration and the original proprietors. Only twenty-two lots were disposed of at the first sale by auction held during three days of October, 1791. At the second sale, which took place one year later, no more than thirty-four purchases were recorded, and but thirty at the third attempt in September, 1793. The President then authorized the Commissioners to dispose of land by private sale and thus opened the way to the momentous contract with James Greenleaf. In the nine years, 1791-99, the Government sold seven thousand lots in the City of Washington and six thousand of these

were embraced in the agreement with the speculator whose ill-fated investment gave the much-needed impetus to the stagnant affairs of this singular national project.

Numerous schemes for raising money were suggested and in some instances adopted without success by the harassed Commissioners. One of the most fantastic and visionary of the many questionable expedients originated with Samuel Blodget, who built a large hotel which he undertook to dispose of by lottery. His idea, like many of the others, purported to have in view the enhancement of value of the lots and the attraction of capitalists to the city but it does not appear that anyone save the promoter benefited by the plan.

A great deal of interest had been exhibited abroad in the plan of the city and the fact may have aroused the hope that foreign capital could be attracted to the spot. This idea probably prompted Congress to the enactment of legislation granting to aliens the right to hold realty in the District. In the exercise of this privilege, Thomas Law, William Duncanson, and others who were beneficially active in the upbuilding of the capital, settled in Washington. During the period of establishment the city was largely indebted to foreigners for its progress. Very important portions of the initial work were performed by L'Enfant and Hallet, Frenchmen, by Thornton and Hadfield, Englishmen, and

by Hoban, the Irishman — to mention but a few.

In May, 1796, the President induced Congress to pass an act authorizing the Commissioners to borrow three hundred thousand dollars. It was soon evident, however, that the authority to borrow did not entail the ability to do so. Capitalists could not be persuaded to subscribe to the proposed loan but the State of Maryland did, at the urgent solicitation of General Washington, lend the Commissioners one-third of the desired amount. The straits to which the Commissioners were reduced by the need of money will account for much in the early history of the city which would otherwise be incomprehensible.

The construction of the Capitol and its completion in time for the reception of Congress in 1800 was the most urgent necessity imposed upon the Commissioners and we find them addressing themselves to the task with such limited facilities as they can command. Ground had been broken for the foundation of the President's house in October, 1792, and the corner-stone of the Capitol was laid on the eighteenth day of the following September, but when the monetary stringency makes the Commissioners doubtful of their ability to proceed with both buildings, Washington counsels them to sacrifice progress on the former in favor of expedition with the latter.

Just at this time James Greenleaf arrived in

Washington and a few days after the ceremonies in connection with the commencement of the Capitol made his great contract with the Commissioners. This transaction marked a turning point in the affairs of the future city. It gave an impetus to the operations and attracted the private capital without the aid of which the requisite buildings could never have been erected. The benefits that accrued to the city from the speculations of Greenleaf and his associates are generally overlooked in the contemplation of their disastrous results to the capitalists who staked their all on the success of the venture. They believed that a metropolis of large dimensions would rapidly spring up from the virgin land in which they sank their money and they infected others with their belief. They converted flat stagnation into a lively "boom" which, although it was short-lived, served to carry the project over the first difficult stage in the constructive period.

The Greenleafs of Massachusetts were a notable family. William Greenleaf, merchant and High Sheriff of Suffolk County, performed the somewhat hazardous act of reading the Declaration of Independence from the balcony of the State House in Boston, July 18, 1776. The twelve children who survived him were remarkable for their intellect and culture. James added to these characteristics an extraordinary aptitude for commercial

pursuits. At the time that Greenleaf embarked in the Washington venture, although still short of thirty years of age, he had accumulated more than a million dollars in mercantile enterprises.

Greenleaf plunged into this speculation with the appearance of bold recklessness. He assumed enormous obligations with a readiness that can be explained only by his firm belief in the future. Greenleaf was an honest man and one of sound judgment. He displayed these qualities in a marked degree during his career as a merchant, whilst Consul General of the United States in Holland and in the lifetime of litigation that followed the failure of the North American Land Company, and other enterprises in which he was associated with Morris and Nicholson. The Washington venture was his one great mistake and in that he had for partners men of the widest experience and the greatest intellect. They were, however, necessarily standing upon unstable ground. During the formative period of the nation uncertainty overshadowed every project. The government itself was speculative. In financial and commercial transactions there were no empirical data to serve as guides. Forecasts rested upon the most slender foundations and were liable to be overturned by innumerable contingencies entirely beyond the range of prevision. At that time, had all our people preserved the conservative caution which

Great Falls of the Potomac



would have accorded with the dictates of wisdom, the infant republic had never shaken off its swaddling clothes. Bold enterprise was essential to the development of the country and men like Greenleaf stimulated it. Their failures should not blind us to a sense of their public services.

The records of the transactions of Greenleaf and his associates defy unravelment. If collected they would form, perhaps, the most intricate and complicated set of documents in existence. After the year 1797, the principals had no clear idea of the condition of their affairs, and Morris least of all. Cranch, who had been their agent, clear-headed and bred to the law as he was, admitted in Chancery proceedings that he could not give a lucid statement of their accounts. Men of standing, nominated as trustees and administrators, declined to assume charge of such involved interests. Years — generations in fact — of litigation grew out of these speculations and the courts failed to untangle the mass of equities and obligations. Greenleaf, who without legal training was a lawyer of great ability, succeeded in reducing the chaos of his interests to some degree of order and — by dint of nearly forty years of legal process — saved from the wreck sufficient to enable him to pass his later years in comfort. His partners died — one in a debtor's prison and the other in secluded poverty.

It would be neither interesting nor practicable to

present more than a summary of Greenleaf's vast real estate investments in Washington. Surveying the ground from the point of view of one who believed, with General Washington, that the city was destined to become the "great commercial emporium" of the United States, he decided that the small peninsula lying between the Eastern Branch and the Potomac embraced the most promising site. Business would be attracted, so he thought with just anticipation, by the ample anchorage and wharfage facilities and the Capitol might be expected to draw a residential population to its vicinage. Buzzard's Point — or Greenleaf's Point as it was to be more euphoniously called thereafter — appeared to offer so many advantages over any other part of the city area that the speculator was fully justified in selecting it for the medium of his investment.

Looking around from an eminence on the point of land where the Anacostia merges its entity in the Potomac, the sanguine speculator saw "Carrolsburg, in it an only mansion, brick and wide, on the banks of the Annakastia, the home of the founder, Charles Carroll, father of Daniel Carroll, of Duddington; directly across, another point, Geisborough and a landing; farther south on the other shore, wreaths of smoke and the spire of Christ Church, aristocratic Alexandria; on the same side and nearer, the Custis plantation, Abingdon, and a glimpse of the old homestead in the grove; on the

city side of the Potomac, the pretentious manor house of the proprietor, Notley Young; somewhat farther on, the settlement of Hamburg, in which distinctly the house of little brick from Holland, residence of Peter Funk, its founder . . .”

“And a few years after in financial stress he lets go all his holdings in the federal establishment, all except this dedicated spot. And in the indentures is the reservation: ‘Except square 506, square next south of 506 and square next south of the square last mentioned;’ three squares on the bank of the Potomac beginning one square south of the present Arsenal wall, thence southward. And when the stress was still greater he sold to his close friend, William Deakins junior, from whom he could redeem, the two squares northward. And when the stress was direst sold the remaining square to his wealthy brother-in-law merchant, John Appleton with the hope of eventual recovery.” *

A few days after his arrival in Washington, Greenleaf contracted with the Commissioners to purchase three thousand lots and within a few months, more than doubled the extent of his investment. The public lots numbered slightly more than ten thousand and were, of course, equaled by those of the original proprietors. Of the former Greenleaf secured six thousand and of the latter,

* Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City. Allen C. Clark, Washington, 1901.

more than twenty-five hundred. Some thirteen hundred of these he withheld from the partnership agreement and retained individually. The aggregate price of the property was about seven hundred thousand dollars, to be paid in equal annual installments without interest in the course of seven years.

The purchaser agreed with the Commissioners to build twenty houses a year during the period of payment and this obligation must have represented an outlay of half a million. In addition to this were undertakings of a similar character entered into with Daniel Carroll, of Duddington,* and Notley Young. To these obligations Greenleaf added a promise to lend the Commissioners a sum approaching two hundred thousand dollars for use in public improvements. Before he was fairly launched in this venture Greenleaf had associated with himself in it Robert Morris and John Nicholson.

Robert Morris is best remembered as the financier of the Revolution and as such one of the principal factors in its success. Coming to America from England in 1748, at the age of fourteen, he found employment in the mercantile house of the Willings in Philadelphia. Six years later the firm was reorganized as Willing, Morris and Company,

* Most writers have confused Daniel Carroll, the Commissioner with Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, one of the original proprietors. The former, a man of seventy, was the uncle of the latter, who was barely of age at this time and lived until 1849.

with Thomas Willing and Robert Morris as partners. They engaged in the export and import of general merchandise and transacted banking business. The concern thrived, especially during the war, and at the close of the struggle Robert Morris was worth at least one million dollars and his credit was so great that his notes passed current where those of the United States Government were unacceptable. He then began a series of speculative investments in land of enormous proportions. He bought large tracts in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania, and other States and at one time owned almost all of New York lying to the west of Lake Seneca.

“Morris bought from the waters of the furious Genesee to the sluggish Savannah, anywhere, everywhere, in enormous stretches, whose areas are described in acres, tens of thousands. A century passed and now, when a tract in the Carolinas or the Virginias is subject of negotiation, the lawyer from the metropolis must needs travel through primeval forest whose stillness is unbroken save by the cawing of the inhabitants of the air and the reverberating music of the axe, to the remote little brick courthouse, there to ascertain if the title is a continuous chain from the original owner — Robert Morris.” *

It is doubtful whether Morris was ever actually

* Greenleaf and Law in the Federal City. Allen C. Clark, Washington, 1901.

solvent after he entered upon these speculations. He lived in luxury, confidently expecting fabulous returns from them. The North American Land Company is a typical illustration of the delusive basis upon which these expectations were laid. The company was formed in 1795 by Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf with thirty thousand shares and three million dollars capital. The promoters conveyed to the corporation six million acres of land, situated in six States, but principally in Georgia, at fifty cents per acre. This land was valued by the company at one hundred pounds sterling per acre and the public was invited to buy it with the assurance that: "The proprietor of back lands gives himself no other trouble about them than to pay the taxes, which are inconsiderable. As Nature left them, so will they lie till circumstances give them value. The proprietor is then sought out by the settler who has chanced to pitch upon them, or who has made any improvement thereon, and receives from him a price which fully repays his original advance with great interest."

Gradually, but with increasing pressure, embarrassments march upon the unfortunate Morris. The Washington speculation, which he embarks upon with such zestful enthusiasm, seriously increases his difficulties but is not the cause of his ruin as has so frequently been stated. In his de-

spair and vexation, cooped within prison walls, he writes as follows:

“James Greenleaf. This is an unsettled account, and I suppose ever will be. Here commenced the ruin which has killed poor Nicholson, and brought me to the necessity of giving an account of my affairs.” But in his petition in bankruptcy, Morris traces his insolvency to the failure of two British houses which involved him in a loss of six hundred thousand dollars. This statement he repeats more than once in his letters. Nor does Morris at any time accuse Greenleaf of the “dishonesty and rascality” with which some writers unwarrantably charge him.

John Nicholson was the third of this remarkable trio of financiers. That he was a man of extraordinary ability may safely be inferred from the fact that he was appointed to the position of Comptroller General of the finances of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania when no more than twenty-two years of age. He possessed a marvelous capacity for mastering details and, perhaps, exercised it in an unwise degree. Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Morris expressed in one of his letters:

“I know that you are never idle, it is not in your nature to be so, but I think you are too often employed in doing what ought to be done by others, correct this error and you will accomplish more real

business in a short time than any other man living."

A close friendship existed between these two partners in business and companions in misfortune. The younger man — Nicholson could hardly have been more than forty years of age when he died — exercised a strange influence over the other and more than once in important matters induced him to act against his better judgment. Thus against Morris's urgent pleadings Nicholson entered upon the newspaper war against Greenleaf and eventually persuaded Morris to join in it. This was after Greenleaf had retired from the tripartite venture and the result of the publicity — for "master Jemmy" gave good measure in retaliation — was disastrous to the interests of the Pennsylvanians. Morris refers to the matter in these terms:

"With the purest intentions he unfortunately laid a train that ended as it hath done. I here say laid the train, because there are living witnesses that I opposed as soon as I knew it, although from infatuation, madness or weakness, I gave away afterwards."

Nicholson, like Morris, speculated enormously in land. It is officially recorded that at one time he had indisputable title to one-seventh of the area of the State of Pennsylvania and doubtful interest in much more. His business association with Morris commenced in 1793 a few months before they joined Greenleaf in his Washington investment.

A few days after the completion of Greenleaf's agreement with the Commissioners to purchase three thousand lots, President Washington wrote to his confidential secretary and friend, Colonel Tobias Lear:

"You will learn from Mr. Greenleaf that he has dipped deeply in the concerns of the Federal city,—I think he has done so on very advantageous terms for himself, and I am pleased with it notwithstanding on public ground; as it may give facility to the operations at that place, at the same time that it is embarking him and his friends in a measure which, although it could not well fail under any circumstances that are likely to happen, may be considerably promoted by men of Spirit with large Capitals."

When a few months later Greenleaf made his second contract on a similar scale, General Washington expresses his disapproval. The first purchase, he says in a letter to Daniel Carroll, was desirable because at the time affairs "seemed to be in a stagnant state, and something was necessary in order to put the wheels in motion again." But since then Greenleaf, who bought his lots for eighty dollars a piece has sold a large number to "a gentleman from England" at nearly three hundred dollars per lot. The President is impressed with the idea that the speculator is "laying the foundation of immense profit to himself" and his asso-

ciates, and he inquires: "Will it not be asked, why are speculators to pocket so much money? Are not the Commissioners as competent to make bargains?"

Thus at the outset there prevailed in the minds of all concerned an idea that Greenleaf and his partners had got the better of the bargain in their purchases and there was evidenced a disposition to hold them to the letter of their contracts with what was sometimes unnecessary severity. This was the attitude of the private owners as well as the proprietors and Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, in particular appears to have regretted the sale he made.

The most important of the early building operations was the erection of the "Twenty Buildings" which were in fact thirty in number. These were put up in accordance with a contract between Greenleaf and Daniel Carroll, of Duddington, which required that they should be finished on or before the twenty-sixth day of September, 1796. But previous to this date Greenleaf, finding that he could not agree with Nicholson, withdrew from the partnership, offering to buy or sell, as Morris records, adding the opinion that the proposition was very creditable to him. The fulfillment of this and other obligations incurred by Greenleaf devolved, therefore, upon Morris and Nicholson and the effort

strained their resources to the utmost. In July, 1795, Morris found cash, owing mainly to the monetary stringency in Europe, "so cursedly scarce that nothing will command it." Labor, too, was difficult to engage and it began to look as though the "Twenty Buildings" could not be completed in contract time.

Early in the following year Cranch in his capacity of agent for the speculators, offered Carroll eight thousand dollars in notes of the Bank of the United States in consideration of extending the building contract one year. This Carroll flatly refused to do on any condition and thus affords corroboration of the charge that he was extremely obstinate and unconciliatory and thereby impeded the development of the section in which his property lay.

The builders bent themselves to the task with all their energy and accomplished it, though at onerous cost. Fifteen of the structures were under cover three days before date; the other fifteen hardly three hours before the expiration of the contract term, the implacable master of Duddington viewing the feverish work of the laborers with a grim determination to enforce his rights to the ultimate letter of the bond. It was a great occasion, for, according to the *Gazette* of the proximate date, "The above buildings are the greatest effect

of private enterprise of any in the city, and for the time in which they were building, we believe the greatest in the United States."

A barbecue was held upon the spot and attended by all the "first citizens" of the infant capital. Among the newcomers who had thrown in their fortunes with the Federal City were William Cranch, the young wiseacre, skilled in booklore and cunning in business; Thomas Law, the East Indian "Nabob," and his three young sons; Clotworthy Stephenson, military man—as were all save cripples in those days—and practical builder; Benjamin More, editor of the *Washington Gazette*, sanguine and inquisitive; William Tunnicliffe, tavern-keeper; Nicholas King, surveyor; and Frederick May, physician.

For several years the "Twenty Buildings" represented the chief private building operation in the District and long after it became apparent that Greenleaf's point would not become, within calculable time, the busy and populous center that the pioneer promoters had pictured, the houses stood in various stages of decay, affording point to the disparaging remarks of the native sceptic and the foreign cynic. Morris and Nicholson were building at many other points, completing structures commenced by Greenleaf in conformity with the agreement with the Commissioners. They were examples of good, honest work and excellent material

— houses such as the latter day builder never produces. Most of them were standing twenty-five years ago and many of them are now, their bricks — which came from the yard of Daniel Carroll, of Duddington — in a wonderful state of preservation. Wheat Row, on Fourth street between N and O streets southwest, is a notable illustration. It was the first and is the oldest block in the city.

Greenleaf began the construction of the historic "Six Buildings" on Pennsylvania Avenue between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets northwest. Isaac Polock purchased the property from Morris and Nicholson and completed the houses. Among the tenants prior to the removal of the Government, were John Francis Mercer, Captain Elisha O. Williams and Doctor Dinsmore. On the north side of the avenue beginning at Nineteenth street, General Stewart and Major More erected the "Seven Buildings," one of which — that upon the corner — served as the Executive Mansion after the despoilment of the White House by the British. Another contained the State Department in 1800–1801 and housed John Marshall and James Madison.

Following the failure of the great contractors, their property was allowed to deteriorate and much of their labor went for nought. Morris writes from prison:

"On some of those lots"—he doubtless meant

squares —“ there were erected between forty and fifty brick houses, some of which were finished and others nearly so; but many of them have suffered great damage by neglect, pillage, etc., so as to be now in a most ruinous situation. There were also several frame buildings, some of which were sold, others pulled to pieces and plundered, etc.”

Despite the restraining effect of the ill-advised early building regulations, which required brick and considerable dimensions, many individuals erected mansions at scattered points and a few effected extensive building operations. Of these Thomas Law was the most notable. Not only was his achievement in the direction of the improvement of the city important, but he was on other accounts one of the most remarkable men connected with the capital in its early years.

Thomas Law was the son of that Bishop of Carlisle to whom, as his patron, Paley dedicated his works. It was a highly distinguished family. Two of the sons became bishops of the Church of England; another, the Edward Law, who successfully defended Warren Hastings in his celebrated impeachment trial, was created Lord Chief-Justice of England and Baron Ellenborough. Thomas, following the example of several relatives, sought fortune in the service of the East India Company. In his own account of his life,* he says:

* A reply to certain insinuations published as an article in

“I arrived in Bengal at the age of seventeen,” (in the year 1773), “in the capacity of writer, an office which is introductory to employment in the civil service of the East India Company. After serving the usual term of noviciate in this station I successively passed through the various grades of promotion until I was chosen member of the Revenue Board at Hoagley (Hughli). I was next appointed judge at Patna; but this office, after holding it for a short time, I thought proper to resign. At the age of twenty-seven I attained promotion to the collectorship of Bahar.”

The many inexcusable inaccuracies that have been published with reference to Thomas Law are apparently traceable to the fact that writers have accepted, without availing themselves of the easy and patent sources of investigation, the testimony of that most unreliable of authors, Charles William Janson.* There is in the following statement of “The Stranger” hardly a modicum of truth, yet it has been repeated, time and again, with consistent embellishments.

“Early in life Mr. Law went to the East Indies under the patronage of Mr. Hastings, obtained through the interest of the bishop. Mr. Law returned to Europe with, or soon after, his patron.

the Fifty-eighth Number of the Quarterly Review. Thomas Law, Washington, 1824.

* The stranger in America, Charles William Janson.

During the trial it was thought advisable that the subject of these anecdotes should retire to America."

Later writers have gone farther than this. By more than one it is stated that Law had been private secretary to Warren Hastings and that he fled to America in defiance of a summons to appear as a witness at the trial. The inference that he was not without taint is unavoidable.

It is certain that Law was never secretary to Hastings, nor connected with him in any confidential capacity. He had few direct official dealings with the Governor-General and singularly little intercourse of any kind with him. That he did not leave England under a cloud or in contempt of authority seems to be shown by the fact that some years later he recovered a large sum of money from the East India Company by legal process. In the preface to a book relating to the "Resources of Bengal," which was published in London, Law says: "In 1791 sickness compelled me to relinquish my station and since my arrival in England," etc. He was in the capital at the time that the prosecution was presenting its case (the defense opened in February, 1792), and his attendance at the trial might easily have been assured.

The antecedents and character of Thomas Law derive some importance from the facts that he was connected with George Washington by marriage, contributed no little towards the improvement of

Bridge in Rock Creek Park



the capital, and left descendants who cherish a just pride in the memory of their first American ancestor. Law's talents were of a very high order, else he would not have been intrusted, when hardly more than a youth, with the virtual rulership over two million souls. William Duane, one of the several Anglo-Indians who settled in Washington at this period, and the editor of the *Aurora* writes thus of him :

“ We have known Mr. Law now more than thirty years. We knew him when he was inferior to no man in eminence and in power, the third or fourth in degree in a great empire; and this was at a time, too, when by his own generous efforts, pursued with zeal and talent that commanded general admiration and esteem, he brought about a revolution, the influence of which now extends to one hundred and twenty millions of people, as great in its moral and political influence as the extinction of the feudal system.”

This is potent testimony though tinged with exaggeration. Law was not quite as exalted “ in eminence and power ” as the enthusiastic writer states; nor were the blessings of the Morcurrey system of land tenure quite so all-pervading as he seems to have believed. Furthermore, we can not credit Law, as some writers have done, with the origination and establishment of the Permanent Settlement without robbing Sir John Shore (afterwards Lord

Teignmouth) of his just claim to that distinction. The Morcurrery, or Permanent Settlement, was mooted when Law was an infant and put into effect in 1793. However, divested of all doubtful qualifications for respect and admiration, the widower who married Elizabeth Parke Custis is revealed to us a gentleman of the highest character and of uncommon ability.

Law came to America in the summer of 1794, induced to leave his native country, as he declares, by the unjust treatment of the Company he had served with fidelity, and by disapprobation of the war with France. He does not appear to have been at all moved by the republican sentiments with which he has been credited, nor is it probable that such feelings would actuate a man who, as Twining states, "had been accustomed to the . . . splendor and consequence of a prince." However that may be, he determined to make his home on this side of the Atlantic and, coming under the seductive spell of Greenleaf's eloquence, soon invested his fortune of fifty thousand pounds in the real estate of the Federal City.

Law quickly became one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the capital enterprise. Before he had seen the ground he secured an option on a great number of squares from James Greenleaf, and when he has been but a few months in the country, we find him writing from his rented mansion in

New York, on lower Broadway near the Battery:

"I shall certainly go to Washington City and my heart and mind are full of it — you may say that I had rather sell my horses or books or any thing rather than part with a foot at present of Washington City."

And so in February of the following year he comes to the site of the future metropolis and far from being dismayed by the dreary aspect of the place, he plunges with increased enthusiasm into building projects. Law's was the kind of temperament that impels a man to assault with fervor and optimistic zeal any task to which he may put his hand.

He was married a little more than a year after his arrival and *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 28, 1796, announces:

"On the 20th instant at the seat of David Stuart, Esq., Thomas Law, youngest son of the late Bishop of Carlisle, to Miss Custis, granddaughter of the Lady of the President of the United States."

Pending the completion of the mansion on New Jersey Avenue, the young couple — Law was exactly forty and carried his age well — lease a commodious house at the northeast corner of Sixth and N Streets Southwest, from William Cranch and set up an establishment which for years was the social center of the infant city. The residence on New Jersey Avenue, which stood on part of the ground

now occupied by the *Varnum*,* frequently sheltered distinguished guests. General and Mrs. Washington were habitual visitors. Here the Laws entertained Louis Philippe and his brothers, and in fact every notable stranger who came to Washington. They lived "in great splendor," as Oliver Walcott informs his wife, and were the acknowledged leaders of society in the capital.

It was probably Law who induced General Washington to invest in city property, in order "that the public might have encouragement to build." At any rate, an entry made in the President's diary at this period relates that he "dined at Mr. Law's. Examined in company with the Comrs. some of the Lots in the Vicinity of the Capitol and fixed upon No. 16 in 634 to build on."

Law entertained the hope of inducing a considerable colony of Anglo-Indians to settle in Washington. Besides himself, there were from India, James Barry, William Duncanson, William Duane, James Ray, and others. Twining, who visited Law shortly after his marriage, refers to this project:

"One anticipation in which he indulged, with great confidence and satisfaction, was that other East-Indians would join him; and he hoped, I was sorry to see, that I might return to Bengal with impressions tending to encourage this migration. As we stood one evening on the bank of the river

* The office annex of the Capitol now covers the spot.

before his door, he said: 'Here I will make a terrace, and we will sit and smoke our hookahs.'"

Weld was in the city during the year 1795, just before Law began his extensive building operations, and thus records his observations:

"The private houses are all plain buildings; most of them have been built on speculation, and are still empty. The greatest number at any one place, is at Green Leafs Point, on the main river just above the entrance of the eastern branch. This spot has been looked upon by many as the most convenient one for trade; but others prefer the shore of the eastern branch, on account of the superiority of the harbour and the great depth of water near the shore. There are several other favorite situations, the choice of any one of which is mere matter of speculation at present. Some build near the capitol, as the most convenient place for the residence of members of congress, some near the president's house; others again prefer the west end of the city, in the neighbourhood of George Town, thinking that as trade is already established in that place, it must be from thence that it will extend into the city."

Law shared Greenleaf's opinion that the Point was the most favorable locality and in the spring of 1796 began building on both sides of New Jersey Avenue from the Capitol south to the Potomac. His investment was extended beyond his indi-

vidual operations by loans made to others for the purpose of prosecuting improvements. In later chancery proceedings his interests are scheduled thus:

Survey, Measurement and Valuation of the Brick Buildings erected on the property of Thomas Law, Esq., by himself and Other Purchasers.....	\$211,637
Framed Wood Buildings.....	33,218
	<hr/>
	\$244,855

William Duncanson, Law's fellow-countryman and his fellow-passenger from England, invested his modest fortune in Washington real estate and built a mansion which, with the grounds, occupied the entire square 875, bounded by South Carolina Avenue, D, Sixth and Seventh Streets southeast. The property is now "The Maples," the home of Mrs. Emily Edson Briggs. Except that wings have been added to the east and west flanks of the house, there is no change in the place.

With what sanguine anticipations these men entered into the venture may be gathered from Duncanson's offer to give Law three hundred and seventy-five dollars a piece for a number of lots which the latter had purchased for two hundred and fifty dollars each. A serious quarrel resulted from

Law's failure to stand to the bargain. But in 1800, Duncanson was obliged to abandon his mansion for a humble home on the banks of the river, built on a single lot in square 300. Here he ended his days.

Duncanson's fate was, perhaps, more pitiable than that of any other among the speculators. Everything went wrong with him — land speculations and business ventures alike. He executed mortgages of real estate, then of chattels, down to his silverware, pictures, swords and pistols. His last years were passed in extreme poverty.

Presently Law became disgusted with many aspects of the situation and began to see his "pleasing prospects vanish." He wrote to Greenleaf bitterly complaining of the Commissioners, who failed to realize that "the City should branch out from the proper root, the Eastern Branch." He demanded some relaxation of the terms of his extensive purchase and declares: "If not — like an hunted Boar I will seat myself at the end of the New Jersey Avenue, relinquish all my plans of promotions, and foam and goar until I fall under chagrin."

Under this hyperbole is real vexation. Nevertheless, he proceeds with his plans and in the end, alone of the early heavy investors, comes out whole. Greenleaf arranged for him a mortgage which, when the crash came, enabled him to recover his advance in full, whilst none of the other creditors

received more than a small proportion of their claims against the syndicate.

It is difficult to acquit Janson of deliberate falsehood in the statement that Law was "under the mortifying circumstance of daily witnessing whole rows of the shells of his houses falling to pieces." No more substantial structures than those erected by the "nabob" existed in the city at that time and as they stand to-day they show no signs of "falling to pieces." The most notable is the block at the corner of New Jersey Avenue and C Street southeast, which was built in 1796. It was here that Conrad and Munn "opened houses of entertainment" — the building originally constituted three residences — and accommodated Jefferson, Gallatin, and other celebrities. Miss Heyer, Mrs. Rapine and Mr. McLeod later occupied them as boarding houses. Then they became the *Law House*, subsequently the offices of the Coast Survey, and again a hotel under the name of the *Varnum*.

The raveled thread of this story of speculation leads us back to Philadelphia, and to the dismal debtor's prison in Prune Street. There we find the ardent Nicholson stretched upon his deathbed which Morris, knowing his temperament, foresaw when he wrote: "You must not go to Prune Street. . . . If the key is once turned on you by the hand under any authority but your own, God only knows when that door shall be open to

you; perhaps never, until you shall be insensible to the affairs of the world." In the little garden on one side of the building we see, as did Wood, the actor and luckless inmate, the burly figure of the man who made the Revolution practicable pacing stolidly to and fro "and dropping from his hand, at a given spot, a pebble in each round, until a certain number which he had was exhausted." On the other side of the prison, the irrepressible Greenleaf dashes up and down the short and narrow walk upon a spirited horse and "it was quite amusing to observe with what skill habit had enabled him to make those swift evolutions, within so very limited a space."

One can not fail to be moved to pity at the contemplation of the fates of these three giants. Morris, Nicholson and Greenleaf were unquestionably honest. Each was a man of extraordinary parts, but they were dreamers, nevertheless. Men of broad minds and generous impulses, they were ever prone to be over-sanguine and overbold. Probably Morris voiced the sentiments of his associates when, in response to General Washington's warning, he said for himself: "I can never do things in the small; I must be either a man or a mouse." Truly there was nothing small about either of them. Concessions were made with princely open-handedness; contracts were waived or modified with a magnanimous disregard for self-interest; obliga-

tions were assumed with regal recklessness. They played the game of finance like honorable, if deluded gentlemen, and went to earth retaining the love of their friends, most of whom were their creditors.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOVERNMENT TAKES POSSESSION.

THE City of Washington presents the first instance in history — as Gladstone remarked — of the establishment of a national capital by legislative enactment. The circumstance was further unique in the constitutional conference on Congress of “the right of soil and exclusive . . . jurisdiction” and the resultant disfranchisement of the inhabitants of the selected site. These peculiar conditions, designed to afford the Government a seat where its authority should be supreme and undivided, were generally deemed necessary after the experience of the Congress of 1783. That body, threatened by mutinous troops of the Pennsylvania line, moved to Princeton in June. A few months later a memorial was addressed to the Congress by the General Assembly of Pennsylvania, inviting it to return to Philadelphia. The proposition contemplated the establishment of a permanent seat of government in or near Philadelphia and, in view of the recent occurrence, the State legislature inquired what jurisdiction Congress

would consider it necessary to exercise over the site it might select. This was the first public utterance on the subject but during the succeeding years of discussion relating to the selection of a national capital the matter of exclusive legislation was kept in view and the convention that framed the Constitution provided for it in that document.*

The effect of this arrangement upon the political rights of the inhabitants of the federal territory does not appear to have created any concern if, indeed, it was given any serious consideration. And yet it involved a principle of the highest importance, no less, in fact, than the basic cause of the revolt of the colonies.

During the ten years of preparatory period preceding the settlement of the Government in the District of Columbia, that territory remained subject to the legislation and jurisdiction of the States of Virginia and Maryland and its inhabitants enjoyed all the privileges of citizens of those States, but after the assumption by Congress of the exclusive powers vested in it, the residents of the District

* Article I, section VIII, paragraph 17, of the Constitution of the United States, provides that:

“The Congress shall have power —

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,”

.

of Columbia occupied the anomalous position of citizens of the United States but not of any particular State. They could have no direct representation in the government, no voice in national affairs, nor even any part in local administration unless by favor of Congress.

It was essentially a period of practical endeavor, when men's minds were applied to the adjustment of conditions, in the process of which principles and theories were frequently sacrificed to the exigencies of the moment. The prime and urgent consideration was the securing to the national legislators freedom from interference and undue influence. The political status of a few thousand of the people was comparatively a matter of no importance. It was probably believed that Congress would devise some satisfactory solution of the difficulty in good time and no doubt constant and immediate contact with the legislators was deemed ample compensation for the loss of representation. The persons most concerned — the inhabitants of the District do not seem to have been greatly agitated about the matter. Some newspaper controversy was excited and a public meeting of the citizens took place in January, 1801, which resulted in a memorial to Congress setting forth that in the event of its exercising its full powers over the District "we shall be completely disfranchised in respect to the national government, while we re-

tain no security for participating in the formation of even the most minute local regulations by which we are to be affected. We shall be reduced to that deprecated condition of which we pathetically complained in our charges against Great Britain, of being taxed without representation." There is reason to believe, however, that the question, which was made a party issue by the Federalists and Republicans, was not considered of serious moment by the majority of the people. They were satisfied to intrust their personal and property interests to Congress. Moreover, the permanency of the capital — a matter of grave doubt at the time — was of vital consequence to them and they were unwilling to foster any complication that might impair the prospect of it.

After considerable discussion in Congress and a futile effort by the Federalist party to give the District a territorial form of government, the law of February 21, 1801, was passed. This enactment terminated the authority of the States of Virginia and Maryland over the District but provided for the continuance of the existing laws that had been derived from those commonwealths. The municipal governments of Georgetown and Alexandria were left undisturbed. United States judges and officers were provided for and — in the following year — the City of Washington was granted a corporate charter with limited powers,

the executive officials being appointed by the President.

Authorized by Congress to anticipate the statutory date for the transfer of the Government to Washington by six months, President Adams issued an order to "the several heads of departments to take the most prudent and economical arrangements for the removal of the public offices, clerks, and papers, according to their best judgment, as soon as may be convenient, in such manner that the public offices may be opened in the City of Washington for the dispatch of business by the 15th of June." The President himself left Philadelphia May 27, 1800, and made a leisurely and circuitous journey to the capital by way of Lancaster and Fredericktown. He arrived June 3, and according to *The Centinel of Liberty*, was met at the boundary line of the District by "a large crowd of respectable citizens on horseback" and escorted to the *Union Tavern*, Georgetown. Here he remained until June 14, when all the executive offices had been transferred to Washington, and then set out for his home at Quincy, Massachusetts.

An extraordinary number of myths cling like barnacles to the history of the City of Washington and the remarkable readiness with which the least substantial are repeated by successive writers betrays an inexcusable lack of investigation. Nearly every published account of the removal of the Gov-

ernment describes the transfer of the official effects in a few small boxes carried by a single vessel. A writer in Harper's Magazine some years ago states: "The oldest inhabitant assures me that a single packet sloop brought all the office furniture of the Departments besides seven large boxes and four or five smaller ones which contained the archives of the Government. Fifty-four persons, comprising the President, Secretaries, and clerical force, chose their own methods of conveyance."

The absurdity of this statement is apparent when we consider that in addition to the accumulated records of its business during ten years of existence, the Government possessed a great mass of material relating to the period of the Confederacy and the Revolutionary War, as well as a quantity of State papers, not to mention the furniture of six Departments. There is, however, ample evidence that the transfer of the Government was by no means the trivial undertaking that it is so frequently represented to have been.

Christian Hines, who witnessed the arrival of the Government's effects in Washington and took part in the carriage of them to their various destinations, refers thus to the circumstance in his *Recollections*: *

* "Early Recollections of Washington City." Christian Hines, Washington, 1866.

Washington Monument



“About this time (1800) the seat of government was removed from Philadelphia to Washington City. The vessels in which were brought the furniture, etc., landed and discharged their cargoes at Lear’s wharf, and as the vessels were unladen their contents were carried away to the War and Treasury offices, the only two that were built at the time. Some of the furniture was stored away in the stone warehouse and afterwards taken away in wagons, it being too bulky to remove in carts. Wagons were rather scarce in Washington then, and our cart was engaged with others in removing the boxes of books, papers, etc. I still remember that many of the boxes were marked ‘Joseph Nourse, Registrar.’” The “many boxes” addressed to the Registrar of the Treasury could have been but a small proportion of the whole.

Perhaps official testimony on the point would be more to the purpose. The work of moving the property of the Government was intrusted to Israel Whelan, Purveyor of Public Supplies, who made the following statement of expenditure.

“Account of Israel Whelan. By amount of his expenditures from the 5th of June, 1800, to the 9th of February, 1801, for the wagons and charter hire of vessels employed in the transportation of the President’s furniture and the records and furniture of the public offices from Philadelphia to the city

of Washington, including various payments for carpenter work, portorage, and insurance, with his commission at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, \$15,293.23."

Assistant Postmaster-General Abraham Bradley, Jr., reporting his arrival to the head of the Department, Secretary Habersham, who was absent in Georgia, says: "It took us a week to prepare to move, load, etc., and it will take another week to get our things in order."

The cost of transporting the personnel of the Government was \$32,872.34. The actual expenses incurred by every employee in moving and the traveling expenses of himself and family were made a public charge. The following bill was rendered by one John Little, a clerk in the Treasury, and paid without protest.

For the following expenses attending the removal of himself and family, consisting of nine persons, from the city of Philadelphia to the city of Washington:

For expenses actually incurred in October,	
1799, for procuring me a house in the city of Washington	\$ 30.00
Carpenter's bill for making of boxes and cases for furniture, including boards, nails, and packing of same.....	96.00
Paid I. Irvine for the hire of a carriage for the removal of self and family, nine	

THE GOVERNMENT TAKES POSSESSION. 115

in number, from the city of Philadelphia to Washington	100.00
Expenses on the road, six days.....	72.00
Paid D. Cochran for hauling furniture from Lear's store to my house.....	7.00
For board after our arrival in Washing- ton until the house was put in order to receive us	30.00
My official duty compelling me to remain in Philadelphia till the 1st of July, in or- der to complete the dividends for the payment of interest, I charge for board of self and family in Philadelphia after the shipment of my furniture until that day, deducting the difference of board- ing my family and what it would have cost me in housekeeping.....	30.00
During the hurry generally attending a re- moval many incidental expenses occurred of which I kept no account. The dam- age occasioned by the removal of my fur- niture was considerable, which with cooperage, portorage from my house in Philadelphia to the wharf, and other necessary expenses not enumerated would, upon a moderate computation, amount to	80.00
Total	\$445.00

How Mr. Little contrived to construct such an explicit account without introducing cents into it is a matter for wonder. Apart from his own admission, one would never have suspected him of being affected by "the hurry generally attending a removal," seeing that he took six days to perform a journey which the regular stage coach accomplished in thirty-three hours.

The personal accounts of the heads of Departments incurred in moving ranged from \$338, paid to Attorney-General Charles Lee, to \$729, received by Benjamin Stoddert, the Secretary of the Navy.

It is very certain that the personnel of the Government at this time greatly exceeded "fifty-four persons." The Blue Book of the year 1792 — the first printed — shows one hundred and thirty-six employees in the Departments, exclusive of the heads. The Navy Department had not then been created and the General Post Office made no returns. The next Blue Book was issued in January, 1802, and enumerated the employees of the Government during the first year in Washington as follows: Treasury Department, 75; War Department, 17; Navy Department, 16; Post Office Department, 10; State Department, 8. If we add to these 4 employees of the Attorney-General's office, we have a total of 130, or 136 including the heads, which was approximately the number transferred from Philadelphia.

November 17, 1800, Congress assembled at the Capitol, of which the north wing only was ready for occupancy. Neither branch of the legislature secured a quorum at the date of opening but on the 21st of the month a joint committee notified President Adams that the body was in session and prepared to receive any communication from him. To this the chief executive replied by congratulating the people of the United States on the assembling of Congress "at the permanent seat of their government" and the legislators on "the prospect of a residence not to be changed."

The first session of the Supreme Court in the City of Washington, was "holden at the Capitol" — as the minutes put it — on the 2d day of February, 1801. At this date the transfer of the Government had been completed in all its details.

It was not with any degree of pleasure that the national legislators and federal officials moved to the new capital. The change was looked upon as involving something in the nature of exile. Despite the report of the Commissioners of the District that the public buildings were sufficiently advanced to make the transfer practicable and that the accommodations were satisfactory, it was well known that neither the office nor residence facilities were anything like equal to the requirements. There was a widespread hope, maintained until the last moment, that the change might be deferred

if not entirely averted. This hope was naturally strongest in Philadelphia where the Government had for so many years been domiciled. The building erected by the State of Pennsylvania on Ninth Street between Market and Chestnut for the accommodation of the President of the United States, but which had not been occupied by either of the incumbents of the office, was not disposed of until after the removal had been accomplished.

Notwithstanding the general dislike among the servants of the people to taking up work and making their homes in what was commonly spoken of as "the wilderness," it is noteworthy that, with few exceptions they accepted the situation cheerfully and made light of the discomforts and inconveniences that it entailed upon them. This attitude was characteristic of the men of the day, who went about the upbuilding of the republic in much the same spirit of self-sacrifice and confidence in the future that actuated their forefathers in the pioneer period of the colonies.

The "city" was not an attractive spot, but, perhaps, the picture of its desolation has been somewhat overdrawn. Foreign travelers unconsciously subjected the infant capital to unfair comparison with European towns and even Americans frequently failed to make due allowance for the difficulties that had attended its foundation. It certainly was not "as much a wilderness as Ken-

tucky " but it had been only a few years before and, when we consider the pathetic poverty of the Government, the degree of advance attained was not discreditable. In May, 1801, the Commissioners reported 191 brick and 408 frame houses completed, whereas 95 of the former kind and 41 of the latter were under construction, making a total of 735. In 1796, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the largest of the interior towns, contained but 900 houses, and Newport, Rhode Island, 1,000, whilst no other center between Boston and New York had more than 500. Wilmington, Delaware, had 600 Houses; Albany, 1,100; Harrisburg, 300; Trenton, 200. Philadelphia, the most populous city in the country, harbored 50,000 people; New York, 40,000; Baltimore, 16,000.

Washington from many points of view doubtless presented the appearance of a houseless waste owing to the liberal lines on which it had been laid out and the scattering of the building operations. Aside from the Capitol and the President's residence there was scarcely any physical reproduction of the map plan. But one other public building was completed, being the Treasury, which stood upon the ground occupied by the south end of the present structure. It was a two-story edifice of stone and brick with attic and basement and contained thirty rooms. A building similar in size and appearance to the Treasury was in course of

erection for the War Department on the southwest corner of the White House reservation but it was not fit for occupancy until some time after the removal. Meanwhile the War Department leased a house on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Twenty-first and Twenty-second streets and almost opposite the tavern kept by William O'Neil, the father of the famous Peggy.

The Post Office Department leased quarters at the corner of Ninth and E streets, northwest, near Blodget's Hotel. Mr. Bradley informs his chief:

"We have taken Dr. Cracker's house for this office (close by the Great Hotel) and for my family at \$600 a year. The apportionment of the rent I shall leave to you. It appears that \$200 is as much as I ought to pay for a house. Our office is kept on the second floor, which contains one large room and two small ones. The largest room is 27x17 feet, and the smaller rooms are each 15x14 feet. The front room on the first floor was prepared for Mr. Monroe's office,* with an apartment for blanks."

Congress was tolerably well off in respect to its business quarters. The completed wing of the Capitol afforded sufficient room for the sessions of both branches and \$9,000 had been appropriated for fur-

* The reference is to Thomas Munroe — not "Monroe"— who was Postmaster of the City of Washington from 1799 to 1829.

nishing it. In the matter of personal accommodation the members were less fortunate. Few of them could secure lodgings in the vicinity of the Capitol and many were obliged to live in Georgetown, which subjected them to journeying to and fro over very bad roads, but insured them the compensatory advantage of pleasant and cultivated society.

A letter of Gallatin to his wife throws a great deal of light upon the conditions under which Congress commenced its labors in the embryo capital.

“WASHINGTON CITY, 15th January, 1801.

“Our location is far from being pleasant or even convenient. Around the Capitol are seven or eight boarding houses, one tailor, one shoemaker, one printer, a washing-woman, a grocery shop, a pamphlets and stationery shop, a small dry goods shop, and an oyster house. This makes the whole of the Federal City as connected with the Capitol. At the distance of three-fourths of a mile, on or near the Eastern Branch, lie scattered the habitations of Mr. Law, of Mr. Carroll, the principal proprietors of the ground, half a dozen houses, a very large but perfectly empty warehouse, and a wharf graced by not a single vessel. And this makes the whole intended commercial part of the city, unless we include in it what is called the Twenty Buildings, being so many unfinished houses, commenced by

Morris and Nicholson, and perhaps as many undertaken by Greenleaf, both which groups lie at a distance of half a mile from each other, near the mouth of the Eastern Branch and the Potomac and are divided by a large swamp from the Capitol Hill and the little village connected with it. I am at Conrad and Munn's, where I share the room of Mr. Varnum and pay at the rate, I think, including attendance, wood, candles, and liquors, of 15 dollars per week. At table, I believe we are from twenty-four to thirty, and, was it not for the presence of Mrs. Bailey and Mrs. Brown, would look like a refectory of monks."

The general discomfort extended even to the White House. Mrs. Adams complains in a letter to her daughter that the grounds are not fenced off, the house is unfinished and there is difficulty in heating it, the main stairway has not been built nor bells hung, and she is obliged to use the audience chamber—what is now known as the "East Room"—to dry clothes in. However, like the majority of the newcomers, she is disposed to make the best of the situation. "If they put up bells," she concludes, "and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design to be pleasant. But, surrounded with forest, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? . . . We have indeed come to a new country."

Mr. Wells, who acted as chairman in the original survey, and was living in 1866, stated that at the time of the advent of the Government, more than half the territory included in the limits of the city "was covered with woods and swamps." Weld, in 1799, wrote: "A spectator can scarcely perceive anything like a town; excepting the streets and avenues and a small part of the ground adjoining the public buildings, the whole place is covered with trees. To be under the necessity of going through a deep woods for one or two miles, perhaps in order to see a next-door neighbor, and in the same city, is a curious, and, I believe, a novel circumstance." Almost every record of observation at this time emphasizes the predominance of woodland and yet within a few years we have the complaint that the ground has been recklessly denuded of its trees.

Warden* wrote in 1816: "Washington has been lately deprived of a luxury in a warm climate — the spreading shade of magnificent trees. Between the Capitol and the President's house, a certain space of thickly shaded ground, extended towards the river, destined for a public walk, was admirably fitted for this purpose; but the oaks and other forest trees with which it was adorned, have been wantonly destroyed by a spirit which will never cease to excite disgust and indignation. In

* "Chorographical and Statistical Description of the District of Columbia." David B. Warden. Paris, 1816.

the act of cession of these lands it had been stipulated that all the wood growing thereon belonged to purchasers.* The abuse of this privilege might have been readily anticipated, but the evil was felt when there was no longer a remedy. The commissioners interposed for the preservation of the trees which remained, but this late interposition was of no avail. Venerable oaks, which shaded a fine spring, situated at the foot of Capitol Hill, near the Pennsylvania Avenue, were cut down by barbarian hands, which did not even spare the honeysuckle, eglantine, and other flowering shrubs. A spot like this would have been worshipped by the ancients; it would have been emphatically denominated *Sylva Sacra*; he who would dare to profane it would have been doomed to an ignominious punishment. The case is widely different with the first settlers of Washington, who arriving there in indigent state, unable to purchase wood for fuel or for the construction of their cabins, through necessity lay the axe to some of the finest timber. In this wild state, trees were considered as common property — *res nullius*."

Christian Hines states that between the years 1800 and 1806, "there were several clusters of

* This is not a strictly correct statement. See para. 5 of the original conveyance, quoted on pages 33-35 of the present volume. It is clear that the terms of the agreement left it within the power of the President to preserve the standing trees to any desired extent upon condition of a reasonable compensation to the owners.

beautiful forest trees yet standing in different parts of the city. . . . The Capitol was not then enclosed, but was surrounded by a large number of forest trees, at least the west side of it. Near the trees a gallows was erected."

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Washington had a population of between three and four thousand. The great majority of the inhabitants were artisans or laborers attracted to the spot by the prospect of remunerative employment. To such, of course, the original building restrictions could not have been applied. They were satisfied to live in the meanest cabins of temporary construction and these they knocked together on any available spot that offered. The permanent buildings were scattered from Georgetown to the Eastern Branch with intervening patches of woodland.* Each speculator had his individual opinion as to the development of the city and naturally followed it in the erection of residences designed for the accommodation of the future population. There was no concerted action nor any controlling design. The official plan, although it influenced most of the operations, was too vast and prospective to effect any cohesive action. It was many years before the growth of the city took a definite and determined form.

* See Appendix for an enumeration of the houses standing within the city limits in 1800.

On Independence Day, 1800, Oliver Walcott, Jr., wrote to his wife as follows:

“ There are but few houses at any one place, and most of them small, miserable huts, which present an awful contrast to the public buildings. The people are poor, and so far as I can judge, they live, like fishes, by eating each other. All the ground for several miles around the city being, in the opinion of the people, too valuable to cultivate, remains unfenced. There are but few enclosures, even for gardens, and these are in bad order. You may look in almost any direction, over an extent of ground nearly as large as the City of New York, without seeing a fence, or any object, except brick-kilns and temporary huts for laborers. Mr. Law and a few other gentlemen live in great splendor; but most of the inhabitants are low people whose appearance indicates vice and intemperance, or negroes.

“ All the lands which I have described are valued, by the superficial foot, at fourteen to twenty-five cents. There appears to be a confident expectation that this place will soon exceed any city in the world. Mr. Thornton, one of the Commissioners, spoke of 160,000 people, as a matter of course, in a few years. No stranger can be here a day, and converse with the proprietors, without conceiving himself in the company of crazy people. Their ignorance of the rest of the world, and their delusions

with respect to their own prospects, are without parallel. Immense sums have been squandered in buildings which are but partly finished, in situations which are not, and never will be, the scenes of business; while the parts near the public buildings are almost wholly unimproved.

“I had no conception, till I came here, of the folly and infatuation of the people who have directed the settlements. Though five times as much money has been expended as was necessary, and though the private buildings are in number sufficient for all who will have occasion to reside here, yet there is nothing convenient, and nothing plenty but provisions. There is no industry, society, or business. With great trouble and expense, much mischief has been done which it will be almost impossible to remedy.”

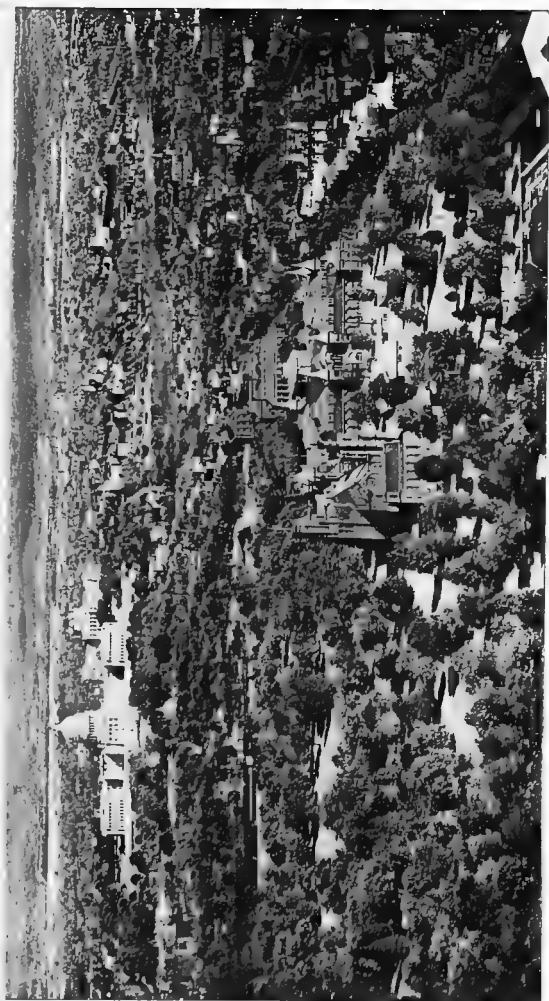
John Cotton Smith, a member from Connecticut, thus describes his arrival at Washington to attend the first session of Congress there:

“Our approach to the city was accompanied with sensations not easily described. One wing of the Capitol only had been erected, which, with the President’s house, a mile distant from it, both constructed with white sandstone, were shining objects in dismal contrast with the scene around them. Instead of recognizing the avenues and streets portrayed on the plan of the city, not one was visible, unless we except a road, with two buildings on

each side of it, called the New Jersey avenue. The Pennsylvania leading, as laid down on paper, from the Capitol to the Presidential mansion, was then nearly the whole distance a deep morass, covered with alder bushes, which were cut through the width of the intended avenue during the then ensuing winter. Between the President's house and Georgetown a block of houses had been erected, which then bore, and may still, the name of the Six Buildings. There were also two other blocks, consisting of two or three dwelling houses, in different directions, and now and then an isolated wooden habitation; the intervening spaces, and indeed the surface of the city generally, being covered with shrub oak bushes on the higher grounds, and on the marshy soil either trees or some sort of shrubbery. Nor was the desolate aspect of the place a little augmented by a number of unfinished edifices at Greenleaf's Point, and on an eminence a short distance from it, commenced by an individual whose name they bore, but the state of whose funds compelled him to abandon them, not only unfinished, but in a ruinous condition. There appeared to be but two really comfortable habitations in all respects within the bounds of the city, one of which belonged to Dudley* Carroll, Esq., and the other to Notley Young, who were the former proprietors of a large

* The reference is undoubtedly to Daniel Carroll of Duddington.

The Capitol from Washington Monument



proportion of the land appropriated to the city, but who reserved for their own accommodation ground sufficient for gardens and other useful appurtenances. The roads in every direction were muddy and unimproved. A sidewalk was attempted in one instance by a covering formed of the chips of the stones which had been hewn from the Capitol. It extended but a little way, and was of little value, for in dry weather the sharp fragments cut our shoes and in wet weather covered them with white mortar. In short, it was a 'new settlement.' The houses, with two or three exceptions, had been very recently erected, and the operations greatly hurried in view of the approaching transfer of the national government. A laudable desire was manifested, by what few citizens and residents there were, to render our condition as pleasant as circumstances would permit."

Gouverneur Morris's satirical but good-humored comment contained an element of prophecy that he little suspected. He came to Washington to attend Jefferson's inauguration and said of the city: "We only need here houses, cellars, kitchens, scholarly men, amiable women, and a few other such trifles to possess a perfect city. In a word, this is the best city in the world to live in — in the future."

Allowing for the misjudgment and inaccuracies that are usually allied to first impressions, these quotations afford a fairly true description of the

aspect and condition of the new capital at the time that the Government took possession of it. Excepting one or two, who were clearly inspired by a spirit of malice, the only fault we can find with the critics is failure to appreciate the factors that affected the situation during the decade of preparation. Considering how little more than nothing the National Government had done towards the establishment of the city, the newcomers should not have expected a greater degree of accomplishment than they found. Of course it was a "new settlement." Did John Cotton Smith look for a completed town to be built by private enterprise in advance of the advent of inhabitants? Wolcott need not have been surprised to find a population of laborers composed mostly of "low people" devoid of "society or business." And Gallatin would have had greater ground for comment had he seen the warehouses filled with goods and the wharves crowded with vessels. No little enterprise and courage was displayed by the men who invested their money in Washington and decided to rise or fall with its doubtful fortunes. If they laid their plans with a view to their own profits rather than the convenience of the coming Congressmen, who shall blame them? They were deluded in the belief that a great commercial emporium would rapidly develop on the site chosen for the seat of the National Government, but they

shared that delusion with George Washington and they paid dearly for the error of judgment.

The growth of the City of Washington during the next half century was pitifully slow. The ambitious hopes of the founder for the city were not entertained by Congress, whose members displayed a distinct disinclination to see the nation's capital expand and reach its inevitable place among the leading cities of the country. For many years after its establishment, the permanency of the capital was threatened at frequent intervals and it was not until after the Civil War that the question was placed beyond the bounds of doubt. For more than seventy years the upbuilding and improvement of the city depended upon the inhabitants and was effected solely by their efforts and at their cost.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT.

WIDESPREAD ignorance and misunderstanding as to the government of Washington and the relations of its residents with Congress have always prevailed. The popular misconceptions have time and again been voiced upon the floor of the House, and it is only within comparatively late years that the peoples' representatives have awakened to a sense of their duties towards the Capital and a realization of the mutual interests of the city and the nation. Stimulated by several concomitant circumstances, general interest in the national city has sprung into sudden and keen existence during the past decade. Indeed, it would seem that the centennial celebration of 1900 marked the close of a century of backwardness in the growth of the metropolis and the opening of another in which wonderful development is presaged by recent accomplishment and contemplated improvement. At least a brief account of the various forms of local government under which the city has been governed is essential to a proper appreciation of the condi-

tions that have retarded its growth in the past and those that will make for its upbuilding in the future.*

With commendable regard for the welfare of their citizens, Virginia and Maryland embodied in the acts of cession that transferred portions of their territory to the nation, a provision that the laws of those States should remain in force in the respective districts until Congress should actually assume jurisdiction over them. These conditions were accepted by the national legislature and, with a few exceptions of no moment, it passed no laws applicable particularly to the District of Columbia until the early part of the year 1801. During the intervening period, however, the cessionaries enacted various legislation for the benefit of the sections with which they had parted and, in fact, efficiently filled the place of a legislature to the District. It must be understood that the early Commissioners were merely empowered to act as agents for the United States in matters relating to the public lands in the new territory. A law of the State of Maryland conferred upon them the further authority to act in several directions with regard to local improvement and convenience. They were, for instance, to license the building of

* The account of the government of the District of Columbia is derived from Sen. Doc. 238, Fifty-eighth Cong., 2d sess. and Sen. Doc. 207, Fifty-sixth Cong., 2d sess.

wharves, to make building regulations and assess penalties for their violation, and "to grant licenses for retailing distilled spirits" within the city limits, but not "in less quantity than 10 gallons to the same person."

Aside from the legislative action of the States in question, the "ten miles square" was subject to the influences of several agencies for local government. Georgetown and Alexandria were corporate municipalities. That portion of the territory which had been ceded by Maryland, exclusive of Georgetown, was subject to the jurisdiction of the levy court, an institution that maintained its existence until the establishment of the "territorial" form of government in the District. It was composed of seven members, appointed by the governor of the State from the justices of the peace. The functions of the body included the assessment of property, the collection of taxes, the repair and construction of roads, bridges and county buildings, the support of the poor, and the appointment of overseers, constables, etc. After the removal of the government, the members of this important court were chosen by the President of the United States and, in 1848, he was authorized by Congress to increase the membership of the body to eleven by the appointment of four persons to represent the City of Washington. Fifteen years later, the membership of the levy court was readjusted by act of Congress which

decreed that it should consist of nine persons, five of whom were to be residents of the county, three of Washington and one of Georgetown.

In the territory west of the Potomac, lying outside the limits of Alexandria, there was a somewhat similar institution to that which has just been described, known as the county court and also composed of justices of the peace, appointed by the governor. The authority of the Virginia body was more extensive than that of the Maryland levy court. The former exercised judicial functions, and instead of directly making assessments on property and disbursing public funds, it appointed commissioners to perform those duties. The sheriff and coroner were also appointed by the county court, which "heard all legal presentments, criminal prosecutions, suits in common law and in chancery when the amount involved was not more than \$20."

Congress inaugurated its assumption of exclusive legislation over the District by a law which was approved February 27, 1801, providing a judicial system for the new federal territory, and from that date all laws relating to the District have emanated from the supreme source of our legislation. The act referred to, divided the District into two counties corresponding to the natural division made by the river. The east section was to be known as the County of Washington and the west as the County

of Alexandria. A circuit court was established and authority given for the appointment by the President of a United States marshal, a district attorney, a register of wills, a judge of the orphans' court and justices of the peace. The act provided that all indictments should be in the name of the United States and stipulated that the laws of Maryland and Virginia, already in force, should stand.

In 1802, the board of commissioners was abolished and in the same year the city was incorporated. The office of mayor was subject to appointment by the President annually and twelve members of council were elected yearly by the ballot of all white male residents of the city. A second chamber of five members was chosen from "the whole number of councilors, elected by their joint ballot." The act granting to the city its first charter stipulated that it should remain in force for two years from "the passing thereof, and from thence to the end of the next Congress thereafter," but "no longer." In fact, this and all forms of local government imposed upon the District until the installation of the present system of administration by a board of commissioners, were confessedly in the nature of experiments. Congress was not imbued with any degree of confidence as to its ability to govern the District properly and representatives often publicly expressed doubt upon the subject.

In the course of a debate, John Randolph of Roanoke remarked that "it was well known that the indolence of other members (than the District Committee) or their indifference, inseparable from the situation in which they were placed, could prevent Congress from legislating with a full understanding of the objects before them." For a long time Congress not only accepted the idea of its incapacity in this respect, but by its neglect and ill-advised action went far towards establishing it.

The charter had not reached the limit of its restricted existence when Congress extended it for fifteen years with certain modifications of an unimportant character. Eight years later, that is in 1812, further changes were effected in the municipal government. A board of aldermen and common councils were substituted for the two chambers composing the city councils. The aldermen were elected for two years, each of the four wards of the city having two. Three members of council were elected annually from each ward. The mayor was elected by joint ballot of the two bodies in question. The first mayor, Robert Brent, had been continued in office up to this time by the annual appointment of the President. Prior to 1812, neither the mayor nor the members of council had received any compensation for their services. In this year, the former was provided with a salary of \$400 a year, increased the next year to \$500, and the latter were

allowed \$2 for each day of actual attendance in session. At this period, the appropriations for the compensation of officials of the corporation were ludicrously small. In 1806, when the city had a population of about 6,500, the entire amount devoted to that purpose was only \$1,460, and that included the salaries of treasurer, register, secretaries of councils and clerks of the markets.

In 1820, the extended term of the act of incorporation expired, and Congress superseded it with a new measure. This provided for the election of the mayor by the male inhabitants of the city, subject to specified color and property qualifications. All the officers of the corporation, not elective, were appointable by the mayor. Such additional powers were granted to the corporation as seemed by Congress to be called for in the management of a city grown to contain 13,247 inhabitants. The charter of 1820 was granted to continue in force for a term of twenty years and "until Congress shall by law determine otherwise."

Twenty-eight years elapsed before Congress made any important modification in the organic act of the city, although its population had increased in the meanwhile to upwards of 35,000. In 1848, however, essential changes in the municipal government were effected by a new charter. The right of suffrage was extended to every white male citizen of the United States, a resident of the city for

one year preceding the election, and who had paid the school tax which was one dollar per year. In addition to the mayor and the members of council, the board of assessors, the register, collector, and surveyor, were made for the first time elective officers. The powers of the corporation were enlarged, especially in relation to levying and collecting taxes on property. This act remained in force for a period of twenty years, at the end of which all municipal corporations within the District were abolished and a form of government similar to that which obtained in the Territories was established.

There were, however, important modifications of the charter made from time to time in the interim. In 1867, all race and property disqualifications were divorced from the exercise of the suffrage, it being declared that "every male person shall be entitled to the elective franchise in the District, whether he shall have paid taxes or not," the only exceptions being those convicted of a crime or offense, or one who had given "aid and comfort to the rebels in the late rebellion." There was, however, a provision that in order to be entitled to vote, a person must be a born or naturalized citizen of the United States and must have resided in the District for a period of three years, and three months in the ward or election precinct in which he claims a vote, a condition which was modified the next year by the substitution of fifteen days for three months.

The liberal law of 1867 did not affect the restriction that only white male citizens who owned freehold property were eligible to the offices of mayor, councils, or assessors. By laws passed in 1868 and 1869 the property qualification and color restriction as applied to city offices were abolished.

An act passed in February, 1871, established the Territorial form of government in the District of Columbia, since 1846 confined to the section derived from Maryland. The act repealed the charters of Washington and Georgetown and abolished the levy court and in place of these was instituted the District of Columbia and a body corporate with legislative and executive powers. The appointment of the governor, for a term of four years, rested with the President, subject to the approval of the Senate. The President was also empowered to appoint the members of one branch of the legislative assembly, a secretary of the District, a board of public works, and a board of health, while the members of the other branch of the assembly were to be elected by the people. The compensation of the officers who were appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, was to be provided for by the United States, and that of all other officers by the District.

It was required that the governor should be a citizen of the United States with residence in the District for at least one year immediately before

appointment. The franchise was extended to all male citizens, except persons convicted of crime and the insane, resident in the District for twelve months preceding the election.

The legislative power was vested in the legislative assembly, consisting of a council and house of delegates. The former was composed of eleven members appointed by the President, two of whom were residents of Georgetown and two of the county outside of Washington and Georgetown. They were to have the qualifications of voters and their appointments were to be for two years. The house of delegates, which was elected by the people, numbered twenty-two members, who served for one year and had the same qualifications as the members of the council. The territory was divided into eleven districts for the appointment of members of council and twenty-two districts for the election of delegates, so as to give, as the act stated, each section of the District representation according to population. The members of the two bodies were to reside in the districts from which they were elected or appointed. To the legislative assembly was given power to provide for the election or appointment of all necessary officers.

The concurrence of a majority of members of both chambers was necessary to the passage of a bill. The veto of the governor might be neutralized by a two-thirds vote of all the members of both houses.

The act specified various limitations of the power of the legislative assembly. All the acts of that body were subject to repeal or modification by Congress and it was stipulated that: "Nothing herein shall be construed to deprive Congress of the power of legislation over the same District in as ample a manner as if the law had not been enacted."

The Territorial form of government was abolished in 1874, and the President was authorized to appoint, with the approval of the Senate, a board of three commissioners to administer temporarily the affairs of the District.

The act of June, 1878, conferred upon the District of Columbia its first permanent form of government. In a decision rendered in 1890, the Supreme Court of the United States declared that this act must be "regarded as an organic act, intended to dispose of the whole question of a government for this District. It is, as it were, a constitution of the District. It is declared by its title to be an act to provide a permanent form of government for the District. The word permanent is suggestive. It implies that prior systems had been temporary and provisional. As permanent it is complete in itself. It is the system of government. . . . It is . . . the outcome of previous experiments, and the final judgment of Congress as to the system of a government which should obtain."

The present local government of the District of Columbia is a municipal corporation, having jurisdiction coincident with the territory which had been subject to the two municipal governments immediately preceding it. The government is administered by a board of three commissioners, having in general equal powers and duties. Two of them, who must have been actual residents of the District for three years immediately before their appointment, and having during that period claimed residence nowhere else, are appointed from civil life by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and serve for a term of three years each. The other commissioner is detailed from time to time by the President from the Engineer Corps of the Army and shall not be required to perform any other duty. The act of 1878 prescribes that the Engineer Commissioner shall have lineal rank above that of captain, a provision qualified by the joint resolution of 1890 which states that he "may, in the discretion of the President of the United States, be detailed from among the captains or officers of higher grade having served at least fifteen years in the Corps of Engineers of the Army of the United States." Three officers of the same corps, junior to the Commissioner in question, may be detailed by the President to assist him in his duties. No more than two have ever been so assigned at one time.

The salary of each of the Commissioners is \$5,000 a year. The two Commissioners appointed from civil life give a bond to the United States in the sum of \$50,000 each, but no such requirement is enacted of the Engineer Commissioner.

For the purposes of facilitating the administration of the various municipal affairs, the Commissioners have arranged their duties in substantially three groups and have assigned a several one of these groups to the immediate supervision of each of their number, whose recommendations on the matters allotted to him are ultimately acted upon by himself and his colleagues as a board. One of the Commissioners is ex-officio a member of the board of trustees of the Reform School for Boys, and another ex-officio trustee of the Columbia Hospital for Women and Lying-in Asylum.

The Commissioners are in a general way vested with jurisdiction covering all the ordinary features of municipal government. Although Congress retains its right of exclusive legislative authority in the District of Columbia, it has, by sundry statutes, empowered the Commissioners to make building regulations; plumbing regulations; to make and enforce all such reasonable police regulations as they may deem necessary for the safety and comfort of the public and the protection of property within the District and other regulations of a municipal nature. They may not, however, enter into any con-

St. John's Church



tracts or incur any liabilities without the consent and approval of Congress.

The Commissioners are required to submit to the Secretary of the Treasury, once every year, an estimate of the amount necessary to defray the expenses of the government of the District during the ensuing fiscal year. This estimate is transmitted to Congress by the Secretary with a statement of his approval or otherwise. The organic act declares that: "To the extent to which Congress shall approve of said estimates, Congress shall appropriate the amount of fifty per centum thereof; and the remaining fifty per centum of such approved estimates shall be levied and assessed upon the taxable property and privileges in said district other than the property of the United States and of the District of Columbia."

The assessment of real property for the purpose of general annual taxation is made by a board of three assistant assessors, who sit also with the assessor as a board of equalization to hear appeals from their assessments. This assessment is made every three years, but the assistant assessors have the power to assess at any time any assessable real property which may have escaped assessment in regular course or become liable thereto after the last triennial assessment, and to strike off any property which for any reason shall have since become exempt. Assessments against private real property for its

share of the cost of public works especially beneficial thereto, and for other special charges, except for use of water, are also made by the assessor. Water rates are assessed by the water department.

The rate of taxation in any one year shall not exceed \$1.50 on every \$100 of real estate not exempted by law; and on personal property not taxable elsewhere, \$1.50 on every \$100, according to the cash valuation thereof. Upon real property held and used exclusively for agricultural purposes without the limits of the city of Washington, and to be so designated by the assessors in their annual returns, the rate for any one year shall not exceed \$1 on every \$100.

The judges of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia have the appointment of the board of education, consisting of nine persons who have been for five years immediately preceding their term of office, bona fide residents and taxpayers of the District. The board whose term of office is three years, makes all regulations for the government and conduct of the schools, and has the right of appointment and removal in the case of all officers and employees connected with the public schools.

A board of charities to consist of five members residents of the District, are appointed by the President, with the approval of the Senate, each for a term of three years. No member of this board may serve as trustee or other administrative

officer of any institution subject to the visitation of the board of charities. The board of charities visits, inspects, and maintains a general supervision over all institutions, societies, or associations of a charitable, eleemosynary, correctional, or reformatory character which are supported in whole or in part by appropriations of Congress made for the care or treatment of residents of the District of Columbia.

The board of children's guardians to care for the dependent children of the District of Columbia, is appointed by the judges of the police court and the judge holding the criminal courts of the District, the assent of a majority of such judges, sitting as a board, being necessary to each appointment. The power of removal is vested in the same body. It is stipulated that there shall always be at least three members of each sex among the nine persons composing the board of charities.

The judiciary of the District of Columbia consists of a court of appeals, a supreme court, a police court, justices of the peace, and a number of United States commissioners.

The court of appeals of the District consists of a chief justice and two associate justices. The salary of the chief justice is \$6,500 a year and that of each of the associates \$6,000. The jurisdiction of the court extends to the review of the final orders and judgments of the supreme court of the Dis-

trict, and from such of its interlocutory orders as the court of appeals may allow in the interest of justice; it has also jurisdiction in cases of suits and controversies in law and equity arising under the patent and copyright laws. An appeal lies from the final judgment or decree of the court of appeals to the Supreme Court of the United States in all cases in which the matter in dispute exceeds \$5,000, and also without regard to the sum in dispute wherein is involved the validity of any patent or copyright, or in which the question is raised of the validity of any statute of or an authority exercised under the United States.

The supreme court of the District of Columbia consists of one chief justice with five associate justices, whose compensation is \$5,000 a year each. The members of this court, as with those of the court of appeals, are appointed by the President, subject to the confirmation of the Senate, and hold office during good behavior. This court is one of general jurisdiction, having the same powers and scope as the circuit courts of the United States. It has cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed within the District, and of all cases of law and equity between parties, both or either of whom may be resident or found in the District, and also of all actions or suits of a civil nature at common law or in equity in which the United States shall be plaintiff or defendant; and of all seizures on

land or on water, and of all penalties and forfeitures arising or accruing under the laws of the United States. It is invested with jurisdiction to issue writs of mandamus to executive officers of the Federal and municipal government; it has also appellate jurisdiction over justices of the peace. It has jurisdiction of all applications for divorce, and may entertain petitions for change of name; and it has concurrent jurisdiction with justices of the peace when the amount in controversy exceeds \$100. Appeals lie from this court to the court of appeals. It is divided into a circuit court, an equity court, a district court, a criminal court, and a probate court.

The police court consists of two judges, whose compensation is \$3,000 per annum each. They are appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, for a term of six years. The jurisdiction of the court extends to the disposition of cases involving minor violations of the criminal laws and the holding of persons brought before it for the action of the grand jury. Appeal may be taken from the police court to the court of appeals.

Justices of the peace are appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate, for a term of four years. They have civil jurisdiction in cases involving an amount less than \$300, and in disputes between landlord and tenant. They have no criminal jurisdiction and appeal from their de-

cisions may be carried to the supreme court of the District.

The United States commissioners are appointed by the supreme court of the District. They are essentially examining magistrates, who conduct investigations into alleged violations of United States statutes, and decide whether parties brought before them shall be sent to the grand jury.

The establishment of the seat of government in territory segregated from the component political divisions of the country, was a unique national action, designed to meet peculiar conditions. That the proposition received the ready and general approval of the men who had the genius to effect the organization, and the foresight to construct the Constitution of the United States, is sufficient evidence that it was, at the time, the best conceivable solution of the situation.

In the state of suspicion and jealousy that existed among the integral parts of the republic, it was deemed advisable, and conducive to union, that the place of general government should be in a territory at once neutral and common. This arrangement was calculated to obviate the fear, justly entertained, that any State which might contain the federal capital would exercise undue influence in the national legislature and over the national administration. A further consideration, and a potent one, was the fact that, with exclusive jurisdiction

and the free disposition of the local militia, Congress would be enabled to protect itself against the possible recurrence of such an event as the riot that drove it from Philadelphia to Princeton in 1783.

Despite the fact that the arrangement could not be consummated without entailing anomalous conditions conflicting with the basic principle in support of which the colonies had contended with the mother country, there was little opposition to it, and the enabling clause was accepted by the convention and inserted in the Constitution without recorded debate.

Thus it comes about that the resident of the District of Columbia is subjected to taxation by federal authority without enjoying what, according to republican doctrine, is the inseparable privilege of representation in the federal legislature. This circumstance is commonly accepted as fit ground for commiseration with the citizens of the national capital. Representative Clark, in 1805, stated that he "never spoke of the inhabitants but with pity and compassion," and another Representative of the same name made a similar declaration in 1907.

The people of Washington would undoubtedly be benefited by the presence, in each body of Congress, of representatives qualified and entitled to voice their needs and guard their interests, and the mooted emendation of the Constitution, for the purpose of effecting the desired representation, has

both reason and expediency to recommend it. The residents of the District generally have not, however, any desire for further curtailment of the comprehensive control conferred upon Congress by the Constitution. They are generally willing to forego sentimental considerations for the sake of substantial advantages. They are generally well satisfied with the present arrangement, by which they share equally with the nation, the expense of local administration. They are more than content with the form of government under which the city has flourished and grown during the past twenty-five years, whilst municipal management almost everywhere else in America has been marked by failure. They appreciate the absence of "graft" and party politics from their affairs, and the concentration of authority and precise location of responsibility that characterize the administration of them. In no municipality is keener interest evinced in the welfare of the community and the development of the city; in none is the public voice so clearly heard or so quickly heeded.

The system, under which Washington has prospered since 1878, is the prototype of the much-discussed plan that has been adopted with success by Galveston, Des Moines, and many other cities of the South and West, in recent years. The essential feature is centralization of authority and responsibility. Except that in one case the primary source

of power is the State Legislature, and in the other, Congress, there is no important difference between the forms of municipal government obtaining in Washington and Galveston. In the latter city, the administration is intrusted to a commission, each member of which assumes responsibility for the proper performance of certain specified duties, and so it is in the former. In both cases, the commissioners fill the minor municipal offices and are held answerable for the conduct of their appointees. It is true that the Commissioners of the District of Columbia are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, whilst those of Galveston are elected by popular vote, but it is questionable whether the people of Washington would be bettered by the exercise of the franchise in this direction, and it is certain that the penalty of incompetence or dishonesty could be inflicted with greater promptness and less disturbance upon a District Commissioner than upon a similar official of the ordinary municipality.

CHAPTER VII.

A SLUGGISH GROWTH.

AT the time of its foundation and for many years thereafter, few persons entertained hopeful views of the future of the national capital. Those who did so, were as extravagant in their optimistic anticipations as were the majority in their adverse predictions. Madison cherished unbounded faith in the fortunes of the infant metropolis and Jefferson was hardly less sanguine. Washington seems to have had less doubt about the development of the city than about the continuity of the union. Shortly before his death, he wrote: "A century hence, if this country keeps united, it will produce a city though not so large as London, yet of a magnitude inferior to few others in Europe." He believed, with logical grounds for the conclusion, that Washington would become in all respects the leading center of the United States. Commissioner Thornton assured Oliver Walcott that the next generation would see 160,000 people resident in the metropolis. Greenleaf, Morris and Law dreamed of the immediate realization of L'Enfant's plans,

and that visionary genius laid his lines for a city not less in population than that of the present time.

But, for the most part, the embryo capital entered upon its career, slighted, derided and denounced. Contempt and abuse were showered upon it from every side and even its legal guardians displayed disgust with it and indifference to its interests. This untoward attitude continued in greater or less degree for more than fifty years and, necessarily, retarded the growth of the city during that time. Thus, the development of Washington is marked by two distinct periods of about equal length. During the first stage, it stagnated and barely maintained its possession of the seat of government against the machinations of those who aimed to effect a removal to some other site. The second stage opened with a pronouncedly favorable public sentiment, generated by the fact that Washington had been in the Civil War the focal point of the struggle to maintain the Union. From this time, all thought of removing the government from it was abandoned. It began to enjoy a healthy growth and, with the tardy, but righteous, recognition of its duty on the part of Congress, the city sprang with marvelous rapidity into the state for which its founders had designed it.

The general dissatisfaction with the location of the capital was expressed in the early years by scathing letters and doggerel published in the various newspapers. Thus, a servant maid of New

York was supposed to have communicated to a friend the following sentiments of her master:

He hopes and he prays they may die in a stall,
 If they leave us in debt for Federal Hall,
 In fact, he would rather saw timber or dig,
 Than see them removing to Conogocheague.*
 Where the houses and kitchens are yet to be framed,

Virginia is represented as paying her respects to Massachusetts in even worse verse:

Ye grave, ye learned asses, so fond of molasses,
 You're fairly outwitted, you're fairly outwitted;
 With this Georgetown motion — oh dear, what a po-
 tion —
 In the teeth you'll be twitted, in the teeth you'll be
 twitted.

And you, Mr. Gerry, be not quite so merry
 About Conogocheague, about Conogocheague;
 For your dull punning jeers, your mobs and your fears,
 We care not a fig, we care not a fig.

And more of the same sort, to which Massachusetts is made to reply in the following fashion:

Ye Noddies, how noozled, perplexed, and bamboozled
 Are ye of Potomac, are ye of Potomac;
 Ye had better be found at your homes safe and sound
 A'smoking of shoemack, a'smoking of shoemack.

Virginia, give over the making a pother
 About the Potomac, about the Potomac;
 For, although you have got it, assumption shall rot it,
 And smoke you like shoemack, and smoke you like
 shoemack.

* Pronounced Conogojig.

A correspondent in one of the daily papers of the time, wrote: "The National bantling, called the City of Washington, remains, after ten years of expensive fostering, a rickety infant, unable to go alone. . . . This embryo of the State will always be a disappointment to its worthy God-fathers and God-mothers, and an eyesore to all its relations to the remotest degree of consanguinity. The Federal city is in reality neither town nor village. It may be compared to a country seat where state sportsmen may run horses and fight cocks; kill time under cover and shoot Public Service flying. A few scattered hamlets, here and there, indicate a sordid and dependent population, and two or three vast edifices upon distant hills, so palpably demonstrated intermediate vicinity, that Indian sachems and Tripolitan ambassadors are regularly fitted out for a tour northward.

"There sits the President, during the summer recess, like a pelican in the wilderness, or a sparrow upon the house-top. Imagine the members of both Houses, on a frosty morning, trudging along through mire and snow like so many pilgrims, incurring voluntary hardships on a journey of penance.

"May other harms be our warning; and since Congress cannot move Philadelphia to Washington, let them, in time return from Washington to Philadelphia, where they alone can expect to command the national energies in case of national emergency."

Congress, whilst in Philadelphia, had failed to command even the local energies in a serious emergency and it is, perhaps, fortunate that the Jefferson-Burr election was decided in "the wilderness." Had Congress been sitting in any large center at the time, its halls would almost certainly have been invaded by a mob. The occasion afforded the first striking illustration of the wisdom of the arrangement of segregating the seat of government from the States.

About the same time, another wrote: "When we reflect on the present state of the population of the United States, nothing could be more absurd and preposterous than the idea of fixing the seat of Congress in a village or the raising of a new city in the wilderness for their residence."

Similar expressions, emanating from writers who frequently exhibited culture and conversance with public affairs, appeared at short intervals in the press. In perhaps the majority of cases, they concluded with the advice to Congress to remove the seat of government to Philadelphia, "the very focus of foreign and domestic intelligence." Very seldom was a pen wielded in defense of the city or in reply to these unjustifiable attacks. Washington, in its infancy had few friends, even among the residents, and foreign visitors usually added ill-considered adverse criticism to the general condemnation.

After the capture of the city by the British, in 1814, a determined attempt was made to end the existence of Washington as the national capital. In the course of a debate in Congress on the question of removing the seat of government, Representative Lewis of Virginia made a strong plea for the District and its people. He reminded the House that the capital had been subjected to almost incessant antagonism since 1790, and that its permanency had been repeatedly threatened and attacked by members of the body whose special province it was to protect and foster it. As a consequence progress had been checked and enterprise paralyzed. He pointed out that hundreds of persons had, with justifiable confidence, invested their all in property contributing to the improvement of the District, who would be reduced to poverty and want by a removal.

The question was referred to a committee that reported a resolution, "that it is inexpedient to remove the seat of government at this time from Washington city." A motion to strike out "inexpedient" and insert "expedient," evoked a vote of 68 to 68, and was carried by the Speaker adding an affirmative voice. The report, as amended, was then referred to the committee of the whole House, and passed, after debate, by a vote of 72 to 71. The ensuing bill which was introduced, specified Philadelphia as the future capital. On the ques-

tion of engrossing it for a third reading, it was lost by a vote of 83 to 74. But, it may be well imagined that, as a writer has tersely stated, "the alarming movement scared the young capital out of many a year's growth."

These onslaughts upon the life of the capital were renewed, at intervals, during the ensuing half century. The last of any account was made in 1869, in favor of St. Louis, by L. U. Reavis, with the support of certain western politicians. In a book on the subject, Reavis says (replying to his own question, "when will the removal be effected?"): "I unhesitatingly answer that the change will be made within five years from Jan. 1, 1869 . . . and before 1875 the President of the United States will deliver his message at the new seat of Government in the Mississippi Valley." But, although it may not have been patent to Reavis and his sympathizers, the public sentiment that cherishes Washington as the permanent and immovable focal point of the national union, had already come into existence and any proposition to the contrary that might have been advanced after the surrender at Appomattox must have met with defeat.

If Washington, during the former stage of its history, suffered from the active antagonism of the champions of other localities, it endured no less hardship from the passive neglect of Congress.

The long-continued failure of that body to live up to the moral obligation under which it rested, had an excuse, at first, in the fact that during its early years the national government had hardly any money at its command. When it accepted the gift of the "ten miles square" from Virginia and Maryland, it was utterly lacking the means to make the necessary improvements, or even to erect the most essential public buildings. Five-sevenths of the area occupied by the present city was deeded to the Government by the "original proprietors" on the most advantageous terms, a large part of it being a gratuity. From sales of portions of this property the funds were derived for the construction of the immediately necessary government offices and extensive reservations were retained which have been utilized from time to time for the sites of public buildings. The Administration designed, and Congress approved, the plan of a city which no municipal community in its infancy, much less a Maryland village, could have seriously entertained. It was — it must have been — the intention of the founders of the city that the Government should hold itself responsible for the development of the capital along the lines laid down. Nevertheless, and although compulsory requirements of conformity to the official plan involved unusual burdens upon the residents, Congress for many years failed to extend a helping hand, and the Washing-

ton of to-day is due primarily to the public spirit and enterprise of the inhabitants of the District.

Not only did Congress ignore its tacit promise to further the material development of the city but it also neglected its legal obligation to afford it efficient government. In 1871, during the discussion of a bill to provide a Territorial form of government to the District, a member stated upon the floor of the House that during the two years previous, only portions of nine afternoons had been devoted to legislation for the capital. Ill-digested laws were applied to it from time to time, suggesting to a writer the comparison of the District with the "apothecary's cat, to be dosed experimentally with each dubious compound before it could be safely offered to the public." And so for long years, the rightful sponsors for the city's welfare, withheld from it needed legislation and necessary financial aid, and permitted it to remain a subject of derision and contempt.

Thomas Law, who sank his entire fortune of \$250,000 in the early capital, complained that "a loose and disconnected population was scattered over the city, and instead of a flourishing town the stranger who visited us saw for years a number of detached villages, having no common interests, furnishing little mutual support, hardly sustaining a market, and divided by great public reservations." This condition was the direct result of making a

plan for a magnificent metropolis and leaving a small population with poor resources, to carry it out. The location of improvements, whether in the nature of speculative operations or private conveniences, was influenced by individual surmises as to the probable direction and scope of future expansion. Instead of coalescence and mutual support, there was scattering independence, as the result of each builder's endeavor to benefit by proximity to some prospective public work which, in the great majority of instances, was never carried out, or not until long afterwards.

At the date of the British invasion, Pennsylvania Avenue was still "the great Serbonian bog" that John Randolph of Roanoke dubbed it, and the city deserved the designation of "sheep walk" which the Secretary of War applied to it. Its appearance, at that time, is thus described: "Twelve or fifteen clusters of houses at a considerable distance from each other, bringing to our recollections the appearance of a camp of nomad Arabs, which, however, if connected together would make a very respectable town, not much inferior, perhaps, to the capital of Virginia, and here and there an isolated house; the whole of it, when seen from the ruins of our public edifices, looking more like the place where proud Washington once stood than where humble Washington now stands."

The movement in Congress to transfer the cap-

ital to Philadelphia, although it failed, was not without a retarding effect upon the progress of the city. Warden, writing in 1816, says: "The value of lots has diminished on account of the project of Eastern members of Congress to transfer the seat of Government to some other place." Even at the reduced prices, there was little sale of lots for some time. The city expanded very slowly as may be inferred from the fact that in 1824, Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury, being "sent to the country for his health," betook himself to a remote house on Clement Hill, where, at present, Fourteenth Street intersects Massachusetts Avenue.

At this period, the residents of Washington made vigorous efforts to remove from the capital the reproach of backwardness under which it had lain for a quarter of a century. Indeed, their patriotism and ambition outrode their prudence, for they expended sums altogether beyond their resources. The streets were improved and municipal buildings erected, and an effort was made to stimulate commercial development by the construction of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, a cherished project of General Washington. The consequence of these praiseworthy, if somewhat injudicious, activities was financial embarrassment, which prompted an appeal to Congress for aid.

In 1835, Senator Southard of New Jersey ably championed the cause of the city in Congress. He

reported its debt to have reached "the enormous sum of \$1,806,442," towards the liquidation of which it had not a dollar available for application. He showed the affairs of the canal to be in such a precarious state that there was serious danger of foreign bankers coming into possession of a large proportion of the property within the capital of the Union. The Senator went into an exhaustive review of the just relations between the nation and the city of its creation and demonstrated that in all equity the Government should permanently assume a proper proportion of the expenses incident to the development of the District. The residents he maintained had, being left to their own resources, been impelled to incur expenditures which did not rightly pertain to them, but that they had been prompted by motives of a liberal and public-spirited character, and there was nothing in their conduct to justify a denial of the relief which they sought. In response to this appeal, Congress saved the capital from its impending bankruptcy but turned a deaf ear to the suggestion that it should share the necessary expenses of its legal ward.

George Combe, a British traveler, described Washington, in 1839, as "like a large straggling village reared in a drained swamp." A corporation law of the period prohibits the running of geese and hogs at large "south of Massachusetts avenue." As a matter of fact, however, all domes-

tic animals had the freedom of the entire city until a much later date. A few years later, Dickens recorded his impressions of "the headquarters of tobacco-tinctured saliva," as he was pleased to characterize Washington: "It is," he says, in terms of *facetiae*, which were doubtless galling to the contemporary residents, "it is sometimes called the City of Magnificent Distances; but it might, with greater propriety, be termed the City of Magnificent Intentions, for it is only on taking a bird's-eye view of it from the top of the Capitol that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of the projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues that begin in nothing and lead nowhere, streets, mile long, that only want houses, roads, and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete, and ornaments of great thoroughfares which only need great thoroughfares to ornament, are its leading features. One might fancy the season over and most of the houses gone out of town with their masters. To the admirers of cities it is a Barmecide feast; a pleasant field for the imagination to rove in; a monument raised to a deceased project, with not even a legible inscription to record its departed greatness. Such as it is, it is likely to remain. . . . It is very unhealthy. Few people would live in Washington, I take it, who were not obliged to reside there; and the tides of emigration and speculation, those rapid

and regardless currents, are little likely to flow at any time towards such sluggish waters." With the satisfaction of latter-day achievement in mind, we can smile at the mournful note in which the novelist refers to the "monument raised to a deceased project," but allowing for humoristic license, the description does not diverge greatly from the truth and, at any rate, it was but an echo of the disparaging criticisms and direful predictions that Americans of the period commonly applied to the capital of their country.

Ten years after the advent of the government, the population of Washington was somewhat more than 8,000. The increase thereafter was very small and almost uniform in rate, about 5,000 being the gross gain at the end of each of the next three decadal periods. The expansion was due in the main to the gradual extension of the administrative machinery and to the fact that with improvement in accommodations, members of Congress brought their families to the city. There was nothing to attract others than office-seekers, laborers and persons having business with the Government. The efforts to place the capital on a commercial footing had not met with any considerable success. In 1820, the population was 13,247; in 1830, 18,326; and in 1840, 23,364.

Had the preceding rate of increase been maintained, the population of Washington in 1850

would have been less than 29,000. At this time, however, there occurred a marked improvement in the state of its affairs. Congress displayed an unprecedented interest in the District and made liberal appropriations for its benefit such as the first two Presidents in the White House had endeavored without avail to induce. Probably this change was largely due to the dominant influence in the national Legislature at that period of Senators and Representatives from the South, which section was responsible for the location of the capital and had always exhibited a friendly regard for its welfare. Considerable credit in the matter is also to be given to the personal efforts of W. W. Seaton, who as editor of the *National Intelligencer* exerted greater influence than as Mayor of the corporation. The action of the Government in advancing the improvement of the city had the effect of stimulating private enterprise and quieting the fears of the removal of the seat of government. Under these favoring conditions, the population swelled to 40,000 in 1850. But the movement was spasmodic and, in the absorbing consideration of the slavery question, Congress soon forgot the needs of the capital.

Anthony Trollope found Washington, in 1860, "a ragged, unfinished collection of unbuilt, broad streets, as to the completion of which there can now, I imagine, be but little hope. Of all places that I

know it is the most ungainly and the most unsatisfactory. I fear I must also add the most presumptuous in its pretensions." He seems to have had the sad experience of muddying his breeches on Massachusetts Avenue, which excited his bile to an amusing extent. Trollope concludes his condemnation after the fashion of the black-capped judge who, having passed sentence of death, extends to the hopeless culprit, the cold comfort of his personal commiseration: "Desirous of praising it in some degree, I can say that the design is grand. The thing done, however, falls so infinitely short of the design that nothing but disappointment is felt. And I fear that there is no look-out into" (the case is so extremely bad that the literary critic evidently considers that nothing short of the worst grammar will fit it) "the future which can justify the hope that the design will be fulfilled."

But, although the Englishman was altogether astray in his prognostications, his observation seems not to have been at fault. Its results were corroborated by the Washington correspondent, "Gath," who writing of the same period said: "When the rebellion began the following was the appearance of the city: Not one street was paved for any great consecutive distance; there was not a street car in the city; the Capitol was without a dome and the new wings were filled with workmen. No fire department worthy of the name was to be

seen, and a mere constabulary comprised the police, which had to call on the United States marines, as in 1857, when the latter fired upon a mob and killed and wounded a large number of people. The water supply was wholly afforded by pumps and springs. Gas had been in partial use for several years, but little else was lighted except Pennsylvania Avenue and the public buildings. . . . Nearly one half of the city was cut off from the rest by a ditch and called the Island, while an intervening strip of mall and park was patrolled by outlaws and outcasts, with only a bridge here and there for outlet. The riverside was a mass of earthen bluffs pierced by two streets, and scarcely attainable for mire and obstructions. Georgetown communicated with the Capitol by an omnibus line, and there was no ferry to Alexandria to be remembered as such, except in the sensitive traditions of the oldest residents. . . . In short, the city was relatively in embryo as much as when Moore, Weld, Janson and Basil Hall described it early in the century."

Nor did the change of sentiment towards the national capital that was evinced after the Civil War by the people and their representatives, show very marked results for some time. After the close of the great conflict, the *Atlantic Monthly* pronounced the city "a paradise of paradoxes, a great, little, splendid, mean, extravagant, poverty-stricken bar-

rack for soldiers of fortune and votaries of folly." Emile Molinieux, in 1874, said it was a strange scattering of pompous monuments and very simple houses and an American writer, at the same time, described it as "the most disappointing, disheartening, conglomerate that ever shocked the pride or patriotism of order-loving, beauty worshipping woman."

The introduction of the railroad and of the telegraph brought the capital into closer touch with the people at large and destroyed the idea of its remoteness which had prevailed in our outlying western territory. During the heart-rending years of the fratricidal struggle between North and South, the eyes of the nation were constantly fixed upon Washington, as the *point d'appui* in one case and the *point d'attaque* in the other. The War closed without finding Southerners embittered against Washington, which lay within their geographical bounds and for which they have always entertained a kindly feeling. Thus it came about that the entire country began to look upon this national center as a common heritage and the focal point of its unity. But the spirit of pride and the sense of possession, thus aroused, was slow in making its effect felt upon the city. The national legislators continued to neglect its interests and left the burden of improvement to be borne by the residents and they — contracting a heavy debt in doing so

— contrived, at least, to keep Washington in the procession of municipal progress. With the passage of time, however, a stronger sentiment developed and has grown until now there is evidenced in our most distant States something of the feeling that prompted the proud boast, "*Civis Romanus sum!*" of the dweller in an outlying province of the great Roman Empire.

In response to the changed attitude of the public towards the national capital, Congress awoke to a realization of its obligations. The Act of June, 1878, which provided "a permanent form of government," also imposed upon the nation liability for one-half the expenses legitimately incurred by the District. This measure, whilst extending tardy justice to the city, did not go as far as reason and equity demanded.

The support rendered the residents of Washington by Congress, after their seventy-eight years of unaided effort, soon made itself felt in the progress of the city. The change which had been effected in 1888, was thus described by Mr. Theodore W. Noyes in the *Washington Star*: "In place of a straggling country village, with zig-zag grades, no sewerage, unimproved reservations, second-rate dwellings, streets of mud and mire, and wretched sidewalks, the modern Washington has arisen a political, scientific, and literary center, with a population trebled since 1860; a city sustained, im-

proved and adorned by an annual expenditure of more than four million dollars; with surface remodeled; with an elaborate and costly system of sewers and water mains; with about 150 miles of improved streets, nearly one-half of which are paved with concrete; with convenient transportation by 33 miles of street railway; with numerous churches and schools, as well as government buildings of architectural pretensions; with broad streets shaded for a distance of 280 miles by more than 60,000 trees, destined to make Washington a forest city; with attractive suburban drives; with reservations and parkings given a picturesque beauty by shrubbery and rich foliage, statuary, fountains and flowers, and with costly private dwellings, rivaling palaces in size and splendor of interior adornment springing up in rapid succession where Trollope sank knee-deep in mud. This wonderful change for the better, effected by certain wise and energetic agents of the general government whom the District delights to honor, is the result, in part, of a reversal of the conditions which hampered the city's growth. Congress, no longer hostile, or indifferent concerning the pecuniary needs of the District, has spent large sums not only upon public buildings, but also in the improvement of the city, at first spasmodically, since 1878 systematically. The people of the District, encouraged by the general abandonment of the idea of a removal of the seat of

government, have also made extensive outlays. But the main public expense of the work of recreating the city is represented by a present debt of more than \$20,000,000, nearly all of which has been incurred by officials placed over the affairs of the District by the general government in carrying out those 'magnificent intentions' concerning the capital, which by the original plan, the nation and not the District was to execute."

The foregoing statement is quoted with the design of marking a stage in the development of the City of Washington. It by no means describes the present condition of the capital. Since the date at which it was written, and more especially since the centennial celebration of 1900, Washington has made wonderful advance towards its ultimate position, which will be that of the most beautiful and the most magnificent city in the world. A separate chapter is devoted to the recent improvements and the contemplated changes.

CHAPTER VIII.

WASHINGTON IN WAR TIMES.

TWICE in its history — at times separated by half a century — Washington has been the focus of a war and the actual object of an enemy's attack. The former occasion steeped the nation and the city in gloomy disgrace and strained to the breaking point their slender bonds. From the latter struggle the country and its capital emerged triumphant and knit together for all time.

In the early summer of 1814 the Administration received explicit warning of the impending assault. Albert Gallatin wrote from London — whither he had been sent in the hope of securing peace — that the British Government had ordered a force of several thousand veteran troops and a score of ships of war to be despatched from the Bermudas. This reinforcement was to make a junction with Admiral Cockburn's fleet in Chesapeake Bay and resume hostilities. That the attack would be in the nature of a raid and that it would be made upon some point near the rendezvous was the general belief but there was serious disagreement as to the pre-

cise locality threatened. Many surmised with reason that the British would aim at the capital, the defenseless state of which could not be unknown to them. Those who held this view argued that, whilst Washington offered little attraction in the way of plunder, the moral effect of its capture would be a weighty consideration with an invader. The President and his Cabinet refused to entertain the idea. General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, scouted it as absurd and, on his advice, supported by that of Colonel Monroe, Madison made hardly any preparation to defend the capital from the onslaught that ensued.

Fort Washington was strengthened without extending its effectiveness landward and General Winder was appointed to the command of a military district created for the occasion that embraced the State of Maryland, including the "ten square miles," and a portion of northern Virginia. When Winder took command on the 26th of June, he found that the entire force at his disposal consisted of two fragments of regular regiments numbering about five hundred. Aside from these, there were neither men nor munitions on hand. Thirteen regiments of militia had been drafted and the General proposed to arm, mobilize, and drill them but, with fatuous disregard of his pleas, the Administration determined that they should not be called out until the last moment.

Soldiers' Home



About the middle of August, the enemy, having effected the contemplated organization, opened hostilities by moving against Commodore Barney's flotilla of gunboats which had taken refuge in the Patuxent. Barney was ordered to destroy his vessels, which he did by burning them. He then marched his sailors and marines, with a few guns that he had contrived to mount, across the peninsula and joined Winder's command.

Secretary Armstrong still maintained his opinion that Baltimore was the objective of the British and that there was no need for alarm as to the safety of the capital. Winder, himself, believed that Annapolis was the point aimed at, and others reached yet different conclusions. Meanwhile Colonel Monroe had gone on a reconnaissance and on the 23d of August a despatch was received from him stating that the enemy were marching in force upon the city. He concluded with the disquieting advice to "have the material ready to destroy the bridges" and to "remove the records."

When this alarming intelligence became public the city was thrown into turmoil. The removal of the women and children began, valuables were hidden and old arms were furbished. The preceding supineness gave place to feverish activity which, for want of intelligent direction, altogether lacked effectiveness. At this time, General Wilkinson tendered advice which, had it been taken, might

have averted the disaster. He suggested that the roads over which the enemy must advance should be obstructed and mobile bodies of troops detached in different directions to harass his flanks and rear. The route of the British was over ground that lent itself admirably to guerilla tactics and there is every reason to believe that by the adoption of Wilkinson's plan they might have been turned back, if not cut up and put to flight. But here again, Armstrong, the evil genius of the situation, prevailed with counsel that reflects little credit on his military reputation.

The advice of the Secretary of War to General Winder, which was practically in the nature of a command, was as follows:

“I would assemble my force in the enemy's front, fall quietly back to the Capitol, giving only that degree of resistance that invites a pursuit. When arrived in its front I would immediately put in battle my twenty pieces of artillery, give the direction and management of these to Barney and Peters, fill the upper part of the building and the adjacent buildings with infantry, regulars and militia, amounting to 5,000 men, while my 300 cavalry held themselves in reserve for a charge the moment a recoil appeared in the British columns of attack.”

The affair of Bladensburg — it does not deserve

the style of "battle"—is not pleasant to dwell upon. It was not the fault of the men, but of their superiors, that the defense ended in a fiasco which excited the derision of their own countrymen. The gallant stand made by the small bodies under Barney, Magruder and Peters, after the main force had broken and fled, showed what might have been done had the troops been handled with ability. When Winder drew up his 6,000 men in the face of the British, he had formed no definite plan of action, he lacked confidence in his troops, and he was confused and embarrassed by the conflicting counsel of the superfluous generals who encumbered the field of action. Wilkinson tells us that the President busied himself in penciling despatches to his wife at Washington until the advance line of the enemy came in sight, when he turned to his companions saying: "Come, General Armstrong; come, Colonel Monroe, let us go, and leave it to the commanding general." Winder had been better for their absence when he was making his preparations, but having come upon the field, it was a pity they left it at the very time when their presence might have proved of some benefit by affording moral support to the soldiery. As it was, their carriage driving away at the first moment of the appearance of the enemy must have suggested flight to the troops who lost no time in following

their example. A New York journal concluded a satirical account of the affair with the following parody of Scott's lines:

"Fly, Monroe, fly! Run, Armstrong, run!
Were the last words of Madison."

Stayed only by the scanty rearguard, which inflicted greater loss upon the British, in proportion to the numbers engaged, than they had ever before sustained in battle, General Ross's army moved on to the Capitol, which it found undefended. The sun was sinking, as the redcoats, first firing a succession of volleys into the windows, set fire to the building and its combustible contents. There is a story current, which has been handed down from one to the next writer on the subject without a break, to the effect that this barbarous proceeding was rendered doubly disgraceful by a mock parliamentary session at which Admiral Cockburn presided and at which General Ross was present. Having a few years ago, gained by chance a somewhat intimate knowledge of the character of the gallant soldier and accomplished gentleman, who served with distinction in the war against Napoleon, my suspicion of the truth of this story was aroused and I decided to investigate it. Painstaking inquiry, which embraced correspondence with many descendants of the principal characters involved, failed to educe one iota of evidence in support of it. On the contrary, it is in conflict with several

circumstantial accounts written at the time by actors in the affair.

Before the flames of the Capitol arose to accentuate their fears, the people of Washington had been panic-stricken by the sight of the fleeing militia which passed hurriedly through the city in small bodies making their way to their homes in Virginia and Maryland. All who could do so made haste to abandon the doomed capital. The streets were crowded with wagons, horses and human beings, streaming toward the bridges that crossed the river. The event proved, however, that the citizens might with safety have remained in their homes for, with the exception of the plant of the *National Intelligencer*, the invaders respected the persons and property of private individuals. The *Intelligencer* was deemed beyond the pale of consideration because Joseph Gales, its proprietor, was an Englishman by birth.

During the night of the 24th and the morning of the following day, the torch was applied to all the Government buildings but the War Office, which for some inexplicable reason was spared. The "President's Palace," as General Ross styles it in his official report, was the first prey of the flames. Any further acts of destruction that might have been contemplated were frustrated by the terrific hurricane that swept over the desolate city on the afternoon of the 25th. Thirty of the invaders were

killed by falling houses during the storm and about as many more had been blown up a few hours previous by an explosion at the Navy Yard.

The utterly defenseless condition in which the city had been left and some rumors of an approaching army that were probably set afloat with design, led the enemy to suspect that a trap had been laid for it. With this idea the commanders of the expedition made a hasty retreat on the night of the 25th, taking all the horses and vehicles that could be found for the conveyance of as many as possible of their wounded. Many of the most seriously injured were left at Bladensburg to be cared for by the Americans.

It is a satisfaction to know that the vandalism of the British troops on this occasion aroused the utmost indignation in Great Britain. Their action was condemned in the warmest terms by the press and upon the floor of the House of Commons, where it was characterized as no less futile than disgraceful. But condemnation of the invaders should be tempered with a remembrance of the fact that they were not without some justification in the burning of the parliament house at York and the destruction of Newark during the campaign in Canada, the previous year.

With the exception of the gallant stand made by the second line at Bladensburg, Mrs. Madison's adventures form the only pleasing feature of this

humiliating story. Her experiences are best told in her own words, addressed to her sister in the form of a diarian letter commenced upon the 23d of August.

“Dear Sister: My husband left me yesterday morning to join General Winder. He inquired anxiously whether I had courage to remain in the Presidential house till his return, and on my assurance that I had no fear but for him and the success of our army, he left me, beseeching me to take care of myself and of the Cabinet papers, public and private. I have since received two despatches from him, written with pencil. The last is alarming, because he desires that I should be ready at a moment’s notice to enter my carriage and leave the city; that the enemy seemed stronger than had been reported, and that it might happen that they would reach the city with intention to destroy it. . . . I am accordingly ready. I have pressed as many Cabinet papers into trunks as to fill one carriage. Our private property must be sacrificed, as it is impossible to procure wagons for its transportation. I am determined not to go myself until I see Mr. Madison safe, and he can accompany me, as I hear of much hostility towards him. . . . Disaffection stalks around us. . . . My friends are all gone; even Colonel C., with his hundred men, who were stationed as a guard in this enclosure. French John (a faithful servant), with his usual activity

and resolution, offers to spike the cannon at the gate, and to lay a train of powder which would blow up the British should they enter the house. To the last proposition I positively object, without being able, however, to make him understand why all advantage in war may not be taken.

“Wednesday morning, twelve o’clock.—Since sunrise I have been turning my spy-glass in every direction, and watching with wearied anxiety, hoping to discern the approach of my dear husband and his friends; but, alas! I can descry only groups of military wandering in all directions, as if there were a lack of arms or spirit to fight for their own firesides!

“Three o’clock.—Will you believe it, my dear sister, we have had a battle or skirmish near Bladensburg, and I am still here within sound of the cannon! Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect him! Two messengers, covered with dust, come to bid me flee; but I wait for him. . . . At this hour a wagon has been procured; I have had it filled with the plate and most valuable portable articles belonging to the house. Whether it will reach its destination, the Bank of Maryland, or fall into the hands of the British soldiery, events must determine. Our good friend, Mr. Carroll, has come to hasten my departure, and he is in a very bad humor with me, because I insist on waiting until the large picture of General Washington

is secured, and it requires to be unscrewed from the wall. This process was found too tedious for these perilous moments; I have ordered the frame to be broken and the picture taken out. It is done and the precious portrait is placed in the hands of two gentlemen of New York for safe keeping. And now, dear sister, I must leave this house, or the retreating army will make me a prisoner in it, by filling up the road I am directed to take. . . . Where I shall be to-morrow I cannot tell."

Assured that her husband was beyond danger and satisfied of the safety of Steuart's portrait of the first President, the mistress of the White House entered a carriage and started for Georgetown. She had not gone far, when she learned that the President had returned to Washington and so retraced her way. Not far from the White House, Mrs. Madison met her husband who, like herself, was in search of a place of refuge, for no hope was entertained of staying the British advance upon the city. Together with an escort of friends they crossed the river to the Virginia shore. Here, after agreeing to meet at a small tavern, some miles distant, on the following day, they parted again. Mrs. Madison spent the night of Wednesday, at the home of a friend, sadly watching the flames rising from many points in the capital.

With the first streak of dawn, the courageous woman set out for the place where she was to meet

the President. The roadway was so crowded with refugees and their belongings that the carriage in which Mrs. Madison rode could proceed no faster than a footpace and many times was brought to a standstill. More than once the wife of the President was obliged to make personal appeal to the crowd to allow her to proceed. For the most part, the throng was composed of terror-stricken negroes and coarse whites who paid little heed to the lady's pleadings until her identity was discovered when insult and invective were heaped upon her head by the impassioned creatures who believed her husband to be the cause of their misfortune.

It was late in the afternoon when Mrs. Madison, anxious and exhausted, reached the rendezvous. The President had not arrived and the occupants of the place, which was crowded, moved by the same sentiments that had induced the people along the road to curse her, refused to permit the wearied woman to enter. So she sat in her carriage on the roadway until the breaking of the hurricane compelled the angry fugitives to give her shelter.

At nightfall President Madison and a few friends reached the tavern, hungry and on the verge of physical breakdown. They were fed and at once sought needed rest in such poor beds as the place afforded. At midnight, however, they were up and away again at the instance of a message to the

effect that the enemy had discovered the President's retreat and were in pursuit of him. Riding into the forest for some miles, Madison and a companion came upon a secluded hut in which they spent the remainder of the night.

Acting on the instructions of her husband, Mrs. Madison assumed a disguise and, accompanied by two men, abandoned her carriage and fled towards the interior of the State. In the course of the day, a courier overtook the party with the glad tidings that the invaders had left the capital and were marching back to their ships. Mrs. Madison now made her way with all possible speed to the Long Bridge but on arrival that was found to be burned completely away. The officer in charge of the ferry was persuaded only with difficulty that the ill-clad countrywoman who demanded passage was the wife of the President.

The White House was, of course, not habitable and Mrs. Madison, on arriving in the city went to the home of her sister, Mrs. Cutts, and there awaited the return of the President, who joined her the following day. The official residence was then established in the well-known Octagon House, at the corner of New York Avenue and Eighteenth Street, then the property of Colonel Tayloe and now occupied by the American Institute of Architects. Later the President's household moved to

the house at the northwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Nineteenth Street and there remained until the White House was renovated.

Nearly a half-century passed before the "stern alarums" of "grim-visaged war" again disturbed the nation's capital.

As the date approached for the inauguration of Lincoln, tense excitement and nervous apprehension pervaded Washington. For some time previous, rumors had been afloat concerning contemplated attempts against the life of the prospective president and it was generally believed that a conspiracy of Southern sympathizers existed to prevent his reaching the capital. The city was by no means the stronghold that it afterwards became. The sympathies of its inhabitants were divided. At this time companies of secessionists drilled openly in the city and looked for a favorable opportunity to strike a blow at the Government. Foiled by the stringent measures that were taken for the protection of public property and the preservation of peace, they disbanded and, for the most part, went south. The Chief of Police, Captain Duddington, was a Southerner who later held a commission in the Confederate army, but who, up to the moment of resigning his position under the Government, performed his duties with honorable exactitude, and during the ensuing inauguration, exercised the greatest care for the safety of the President.

Abraham Lincoln arrived at the old Pennsylvania station in Washington at half past six o'clock of the morning of February the 23d, 1861. Accompanied only by Colonel Lamon, who was subsequently Marshal of the District of Columbia, the President-elect had left Harrisburg secretly the night before on a special train. He was met at the station by Representative Washburne of Illinois and driven in a hack to Willard's Hotel, where Senator Seward awaited him. The tall, gaunt figure and homely face that afterwards became so familiar to the people of Washington, passed unnoticed on that bleak winter's morning.

A few days later, the city fathers, having taken farewell of President Buchanan, paid their respects to Mr. Lincoln at his hotel. The occasion is memorable as being that of his introduction to the citizens of the capital and for another reason which he emphasized in a short speech responsive to the greeting of Mayor Wallach. It was, said the man who was about to grasp the uncertain reins of government, the very first time since the existing phase of politics had been presented to the country, that it had happened to him to speak publicly in a locality where the institution of slavery was maintained. He was glad of the opportunity, he declared, to state that he entertained for the people of this region the same kindly feelings that he cherished for his neighbors and that it was not his

purpose to treat them otherwise than if they were inhabitants of his own section of the country. In conclusion, he said: "When we shall become better acquainted,— and I say it with great confidence, — we shall like each other the more."

The preparations for the inauguration were made under the directions of General Scott. The interruption of the procession at any point was carefully guarded against. The space immediately in front of the platform from which the President was to deliver his address, had been fenced and a passage was inclosed in stout boards from the point where he would leave his carriage to the entrance of the Capitol. Troops stood to their arms throughout the day at several points of the city.

Senators Baker and Pearce rode in the carriage with the in-coming President and his predecessor. The entire party looked grave but Lincoln's calmness was in marked contrast with the excitement exhibited by the crowd. The apprehensions of the authorities were reflected in the military arrangements. The carriage was surrounded by such a dense escort of cavalry as almost to hide it from the view of those upon the street and practically to preclude the possibility of a shot reaching it, except from a distant elevation.

When the President reached the platform at the east front of the Capitol, with Senator Baker at his side, the latter cried: "Fellow-citizens! I intro-

duce to you, Abraham Lincoln, President-elect of the United States." The announcement was greeted with repeated cheers followed by a profound silence which was maintained throughout the reading of the Inaugural Address. The thirty thousand auditors seemed to be deeply impressed with the unusual solemnity of the occasion and their upturned faces reflected the fears, and hopes, and doubts that moved their minds. The central figure of that impressive gathering was preternaturally calm. In the stillness that succeeded the hysterical huzzas, he stood for a few moments gravely surveying the throng. Then he laid his manuscript upon the table and drew from a pocket a pair of steel-bound spectacles which he adjusted with deliberation and proceeded to the reading of the address, using his gold-headed cane as a paper weight, the while. The speech was delivered in a clear, firm voice which took on a tinge of emotion as he uttered the following impromptu conclusion:

"I am loth to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

When the speaker dropped his hands upon the table and slightly bowed his head in what looked like a silent benediction, a long-drawn sigh relieved the pent emotions of his hearers and then a shout of applause broke forth. To the sound of cannon in salute and the music of military bands, the procession retraced its way along Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, where a line of people waited to shake hands with the President. It was at this point that the greatest danger of an attack existed, but those who were close to Lincoln saw, neither then nor at any other time in the day, the slightest disturbance of his profound composure. Citizens and officials were relieved when that day of apprehension and excitement closed without untoward event.

Fort Sumter surrendered on the 14th of April and on the following morning the President called upon the country for seventy-five thousand volunteers to defend the Government. Ten companies of the District militia had been mustered several days before on account of a report that Ben McCullough, the renowned Texas Ranger, was moving to raid the city. Thus the District enjoys the enviable distinction of having put the first volunteers into the field. But from every quarter in the North the appeal met with instant response and in ten days time twenty thousand troops were in Washington. They continued to pour into the capital

until, before the close of the year, one hundred and fifty thousand were encamped in and about it and twelve hundred guns guarded its approaches.

But for several days following the President's proclamation serious anxiety was felt for the safety of the city. On the 19th of April, the Sixth Massachusetts, passing through Baltimore on its way to the capital, was attacked by a mob, who killed four members of the regiment and wounded many others. In order to prevent the passage of other troops through Baltimore, the people destroyed the railroads and telegraph lines in their vicinity and burned the bridges. Thus, on Saturday night, April the 21st, Washington found itself completely cut off from communication with the North. To add to the alarm created by this isolation, a rumor became current that a strong force of Confederates had been despatched from Richmond against the capital. Women and children were hurriedly removed from the city and the most strenuous efforts were made to put it in a condition of adequate defense. The noise of wagon wheels, the tramp of marching feet and the beat of horse hoofs, to which the inhabitants later became quite accustomed, began then to disturb their slumbers.

In the city all classes rallied to the flag and volunteer corps were quickly formed, armed and drilled incessantly. The Frontier Guards, under Cassius M. Clay of Kentucky and the City Battalion, com-

manded by James H. Lane of Kansas, were organized in a few days and assigned to the duty of guarding the White House. Employees of the Treasury raised a regiment among themselves for its defense. Nor was age a deterrent, for many of those exempt from the draft on that account formed a company, called with proud significance the Silver Grays.

False alarms and wild rumors constantly agitated the populace and disturbed the officials who had no means of ascertaining the approach of relief until it was actually in sight. Even the President's habitual equanimity was more than once broken during those trying days. It was with the wildest enthusiasm that the people welcomed the weary and travel-stained Seventh New York, when they reached the city at noon on the 25th of the month. A few hours later, the Eighth Massachusetts came in and the next morning, the First Rhode Island. Thenceforth, excepting for the brief alarm occasioned by Early's dash at the capital, no acute fear was experienced for its safety.

The city soon became a huge military camp. Troops were quartered in the Capitol and other public buildings. Tents rose on every hand and hospitals increased until they exceeded seventy in number. Washington became ringed around with forts which, before the close of the war thickly dotted the entire "ten miles square." The capital

was, of course under military government from the outset. Sentries were posted at many points and patrols traversed the streets. A strict press censorship was maintained during the first year and bad news was suppressed or modified. An extensive secret detective service was organized under Colonel Baker and constant work was found for it in Washington for, from the outbreak of the conflict until the assassination of Lincoln, spies and traitors were ever present in the city. Strangers in large numbers thronged to the capital after every battle, searching the hospitals for friends or relatives and pestering the authorities with inquiries and requests that it was seldom possible to satisfy. Office-seekers and petitioners of all sorts infested the Departments and besieged the White House. The iron man at the war office gave a cold reception to all supplicants, but the humblest and least worthy never failed of kind and sympathetic treatment from the head of the nation. Lincoln was the easiest official to approach in those days and no matter how pressing or important the business on his hands, he would find time to hear the story of some poor woman in distress or to read the papers in the case of a private soldier condemned to death. Whilst few officials could stoop to consideration of the minor incidents of war, their chief never forgot that the common people furnished the bulk of the material with which to prosecute it and bore the greater

share of its hardships. No chapter of his life is more appealing and characteristic than that which relates to the numerous acts of mercy and justice that he performed during this period.

On the 17th of July, the first army of the North was sent against the enemy, then entrenched along the banks of Bull Run, about thirty-five miles southwest of Washington. In the city, the outcome of this opening encounter was awaited with the utmost anxiety. At length, toward nine o'clock on the evening of the 21st, an army correspondent arrived with the first news. According to his report, MacDowell had gained a victory. But the rejoicings were short-lived. The correspondent had left the field before the termination of the engagement and later tidings disproved his conclusion. About half an hour before midnight, a hack deposited the next arrivals from the battlefield at the Metropolitan — then Brown's — Hotel. To the few listeners who were about at that hour, they told a different story. The North had sustained a defeat.

Several newspaper correspondents had already filed the previous report with extensive details. The censor refused to permit the contradiction to go over the wires and so the false news of victory was published throughout the North. The people of Washington went to their beds cheered by the early news of the evening and awoke to find the

defeated army streaming in disorder into the city by way of the Long Bridge.

It was now perceived that the aggressive movement had been premature. Thorough preparation was determined upon. General McClellan was appointed to the chief command. The army was reorganized, the troops were drilled and forts and earthworks were erected on the Virginia side of the Potomac. The anxiety that had prevailed in Washington for several weeks gradually gave way to renewed confidence.

At the inception of the war, the United States Sanitary Commission was organized by private enterprise to "direct inquiries to the principles and practices connected with the inspection of recruits and enlisted men, the sanitary condition of the volunteers, to secure the general comfort and efficiency of the troops, and provide cooks, nurses, etc., for the hospitals." Its services were gladly accepted by the Government and proved to be of inestimable value. It had agents with the armies in the field and at every military depot in the North. In Washington, the association maintained a soldiers' retreat, several model hospitals, and a number of lodging houses. Assistance of every description was extended to the soldiers and they were protected against the numerous sharpers who made Washington their headquarters. Similar and

equally good work was done by the United States Christian Commission.

Exactly one year after the draft proclamation, Congress passed an act providing for the liberation of all slaves held in the District of Columbia, thus anticipating the general Emancipation Act which was proclaimed five months later. The law applying to the District made provision for the compensation of owners. The terms of the Act were to be carried out as speedily as possible and three commissioners were appointed to determine the various indemnities. The business occupied nearly nine months and was barely concluded before Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. The commissioners held their sessions daily at the City Hall, assisted by an expert slave dealer in the capacity of appraiser. During the progress of the examination, a crowd of vociferous negroes was constantly about the building and many dramatic scenes and amusing incidents took place. Compensation was allowed to only such owners as would take the oath of fealty to the Government. Very few refused to comply with this condition but a number of slaves were liberated whose masters had left them in the care of others whilst they themselves joined the Confederate Army. Nearly three thousand negroes were set free in the District in compliance with this law at a cost to the Government approximating one million of dollars.

As the conflict wore on, the people of Washington fell into a state of phlegmatic calm which was not easily disturbed. There did occur, however, two or three momentous events that wrought the populace up to the highest pitch of excitement. One of these was the threatened capture of the city in the summer of 1864. Grant was engaged in the operations against Petersburg and Richmond when General Jubal A. Early made his bold dash, through the Shenandoah Valley, at Washington. The capital at this time contained fewer than five thousand armed men and a large part of these were convalescents and the irregular corps of which mention has been made. There was no suspicion of danger and on the morning of July the 9th, the inhabitants were rudely awakened from their sense of security by the warning boom of cannon to the northward. Countrymen and couriers soon arrived with the alarming news that Early with an army of thirty thousand picked troops had crossed the Potomac and was contesting the passage of the Monocacy railroad bridge with General Lew Wallace who had something less than thirty-five hundred men at his disposal.

It needed no military knowledge to realize that if Early gained the highroads that ran into Washington from the point where Wallace opposed him, the capital was lost and there was no ground for hope that he would fail to do so. The authorities

made preparations to defend the situation to the last, fearing above all other results of capture that Great Britain would recognize the Confederacy. Thirty-five hundred men on hospital duty were hastily formed into combatant corps. The Department clerks and other Government employees were armed and hurried to the line of defenses in the threatened quarter. Even the teamsters were mounted upon their draft horses and formed into a regiment after having drawn their wagons and other impedimenta to favorable spots and massed them as barricades.

Towards the close of the day, anxiety was increased by the tidings that Wallace, after a gallant stand, had been forced to retire. The approaches to Washington were now open to the enemy. The recently emancipated negroes displayed the wildest terror but an observer has recorded the impression made upon him by the composure and determination displayed generally by the defenders. At this most acute crisis, they appeared to be prepared to give a good account of themselves and to make the most of what seemed to be a hopeless situation. Many of them had never discharged a fire-arm and they were confronted by a veteran foe but there was no dismay nor wavering visible in their ranks. They had not the encouragement of knowing that reinforcements were approaching with all the speed at their command. But so it was, for Grant had

despatched the famous Sixth Corps and part of the Nineteenth to the relief of the capital.

The Second Regiment of District Militia held the line between Fort Stevens and Fort Slocum during the two days of Early's advance and thousands of civilians, drawn by curiosity and a desire to be near their relatives repaired to that point each day. There too, the President and Secretaries Stanton and Seward passed much time anxiously watching the developments of the situation. On the 11th, the enemy was within the District and before night had entrenched within a mile of Fort Stevens which stood a little to the northwest of the present site of Brightwood. Early's purpose was to mass his forces on the old Seventh Street Road which was the weakest place in the defenses. The city was already beleaguered and everyone looked for an assault on the morrow.

At four o'clock of that afternoon — not an hour too soon and when it would have been too late but for Wallace's stand — the relieving force swung into the streets of Washington and accompanied by a wildly exultant crowd continued its march through the city to the fighting line. The next morning, they attacked the enemy vigorously and before nightfall, Early's army was in full retreat.

The Confederate capital fell on the fourth of April, 1865, and four days later, Lee surrendered and Grant turned towards Washington with his

victorious army. At the news of these events the people in the capital gave themselves up to unrestrained rejoicing. President Lincoln was then in the South. He returned to Washington on the 10th of the month and a large crowd awaited him at the White House. In response to repeated calls for a speech, he appeared at an open window on the second floor, looking more serenely happy than any there had ever seen him. A correspondent who was present on the occasion, has thus recorded his remarks and the interjections of the crowd which was brimming over with irrepressible good humor:

“ I am greatly rejoiced that an occasion has occurred, so pleasurable that the people can't restrain themselves. (Laughter and cheers.) I suppose that arrangements are being made for a formal demonstration, to-night or to-morrow night. (Cries of ‘ We can't wait.’) I shall have to respond. I shall have nothing to say then if I dribble it all out now. (Laughter.) I see you have a band of music with you. (A cry, ‘ We have two bands.’) I propose for closing up, that you will have them play the air called ‘ Dixie.’ (‘ Agreed!’) I have always thought it was the best tune I ever heard. Our adversaries over the way have attempted to appropriate it as their own national air. I insisted, yesterday, that we had fairly captured it, and are entitled to it. I asked the opinion of the Attorney-General, and he states that we have lawfully cap-

tured it, and that it was therefore ours. I now request the band to play it." (Cheers.)

The band played "Dixie" which was greeted with hearty applause. The President then proposed "three good, rousing cheers for Lieutenant-General Grant and all under his command." The crowd responded with a will. Then Lincoln asked them to repeat the demonstration in favor of the "gallant navy."

On the 13th, a general celebration was observed in the city. The occasion was observed as holiday and the populace gave itself up to merry-making. The White House, Capitol and other public buildings were decorated with a profusion of flags and many private residences and business places hung bunting to the wind. Throughout the day, at intervals, the guns of the forts thundered in salute. At night there were bonfires and a general illumination and an immense throng gathered in front of the White House to hear an address delivered by President Lincoln from the portico. Soldiers marched the streets in informal parade singing the songs that had become popular with the Army as march-tunes. On many a corner and other vantage point homely orators made patriotic speeches to easily-satisfied audiences. Music mingled with the shouts and cheers of the crowd. Enormous quantities of wine and spirits were consumed but, although many drunken men were abroad, the gen-

eral disposition towards joyousness would not permit of any trouble. The jubilation which had commenced on the 9th, continued until it was brought to an abrupt termination by the tragic event that cast a deep gloom over the city.

No characteristic of Lincoln was more pronounced than his abounding charity. His last day on earth was marked by several exhibitions of this amiable trait. The newspapers of the city had announced that on the evening of the 14th, the President and General Grant would attend the performance of "Our American Cousin," in which Laura Keene was playing at Ford's. Every seat in the theater was booked at an early hour in anticipation of the presence of the two most honored men of the nation.

Members of the household have said that Lincoln never seemed more cheerful and happy than he did that day. At the breakfast table he joked and chatted with his family after the manner which they had almost forgotten since leaving their home in Illinois. After the meal, Robert Lincoln gave them an account of his experiences in the Virginia campaign, through which he had served as aide-de-camp to General Grant. Later there was a Cabinet meeting at which the President earnestly impressed upon his advisers the desirability of clemency in dealing with the South. Secretary Welles, writing of that conference, says: "He hoped that there

would be no persecution, no bloody work, after the war was over. None need expect he would take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Frighten them out of the country, let down the bars, scare them off, said he, throwing up his hands as if scaring off sheep. Enough lives had been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There was too much desire on the part of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere and dictate to those States, to treat the people not as fellow citizens; there was too little respect for their rights. He didn't sympathize in these feelings."

In the afternoon, a telegram was received at the War Department from the provost-marshal at Portland, Maine, which read as follows: "I have positive information that Jacob Thompson will pass through Portland to-night in order to take a steamer for England. What are your orders?" Thompson, at one time a member of Buchanan's Cabinet, had entered the Confederate service and during the latter part of the war had been employed in Canada as a diplomatic agent. Stanton's immediate order was to arrest the refugee but, probably calling to mind the strong expressions of the President, uttered but a few hours previous, decided to refer the matter to him before taking decisive steps. When Assistant Secretary Dana arrived at the White House with the telegram, he found the office closed

and business over for the day. Turning to retrace his steps, he was accosted by the President from an alcove in which he was washing his hands. "Hallo, Dana!" cried Lincoln, "what's up now?" Dana read the telegram. "What did Stanton say?" asked the President. "He ordered his arrest," replied Dana, "but said that the matter should be referred to you first, Sir." Lincoln rubbed his hands slowly with the towel whilst he gazed thoughtfully at the telegram. "No, Dana," he said at length, "I rather think not. When you have an elephant by the hind leg and he is trying to run away, it is best to let him go." And so Thompson was permitted to escape unhindered.

The President then set out on his daily drive with his wife. They were generally alone on these occasions and made them the opportunities for mutual confidences and private conferences, for Lincoln was in the habit of asking his wife's advice about the most important affairs. Mrs. Lincoln never forgot her husband's hopeful plans for the future, expressed as they drove out to the suburbs. "Mary," he said, "we have had a hard time of it since we came to Washington; but the war is over, and with God's blessing we may hope for four years of peace and happiness, and then we will go back to Illinois and pass the rest of our lives in quiet. We have laid by some money, and during this term, we will try and save up some more, but we shall not

have enough to support us. We will go back to Illinois, and I will open a law office at Springfield or Chicago, and practice law, and at least do enough to give us a livelihood."

The Spring evening was setting in when the President returned to the White House. He found some old friends from his native State awaiting him and with them passed the time until summoned to dinner, dismissing them with an invitation to call again on the morrow. General and Mrs. Grant were to have dined with the Lincolns and afterwards to have accompanied them to the play-house but at the last moment the General's wife sent their excuses with the explanation that they were unexpectedly called out of the city on urgent business. Thus one of the intended victims escaped the doom that had been planned for him.

The party was already somewhat late for the theater when it rose from the table, but Lincoln lingered to exercise that never-failing spirit of mercy and kindness in a last official act.

At the opening of the war, two brothers named Vaughan, residents of Canton, Missouri, espoused opposite causes. Allmon enlisted in the Union Army, whilst George joined the Confederate forces. In course of time, the latter received a commission and was appointed to the staff of General Mark Green, an old-time friend and fellow townsman. After Shiloh, George Vaughan undertook a secret

visit to Canton for the purpose of seeing his family and carrying a message to the wife of his General. He passed successfully through the enemy's lines, spent several days at his home and commenced the journey back to his command. On his return, however, he was discovered and captured. He was tried by court-martial and sentenced to be shot as a spy, although he protested his innocence of any sinister purpose and there was nothing but his presence within the Union lines to be advanced against him. Allmon Vaughan, who was now a captain in the Northern army, made an effort to save his brother's life and enlisted the interest of Senator John B. Henderson. Henderson appealed to Stanton, with no better effect than others had upon that man of adamant. The Senator then laid the case before Lincoln, who ordered a new trial. This resulted in another verdict of guilty. Again Lincoln was besought to intervene and again he instructed a new court-martial to sit. For the third time George Vaughan was sentenced to death but his friends did not despair. Richmond had fallen when Henderson again sought the President in behalf of the condemned Southerner and the impending close of the war lent an additional argument for clemency. "Go to Stanton and tell him that this man must be reprieved," said Lincoln. "I have been to Stanton and he refuses to move in the matter," responded the Senator. "Go to him again," said

Thomas Circle



the President, "and if he still refuses, come back to me." On the evening of the 14th of April, Senator Henderson, having failed of success in his interview with the Secretary of War, returned to the White House and found the President upon the point of setting out for Ford's. After hearing Senator Henderson's report, Lincoln took pen and paper and with his own hand wrote an order for the unconditional release of George Vaughan. This was the last time that he wrote the well-known signature. In a few minutes, he was on his way to the theater.

Speaker Colfax was at the White House when the party left. To him the President spoke regretfully of the engagement, saying that Mrs. Lincoln was not feeling at all well but that, as Grant could not be present, they must not altogether disappoint the people by absenting themselves. It was somewhat later than half past eight when President and Mrs. Lincoln, accompanied by Miss Harris and Major Rathbun, who had been invited to occupy the seats designed for the Grants, made their way along the rear of the dress circle and entered the proscenium box on the second tier. The performance was immediately interrupted whilst the orchestra broke into "Hail to the Chief" and the audience rose to its feet cheering and waving handkerchiefs. About an hour later and whilst the third act was in progress, Wilkes Booth, who was well-

known to the attachés of the house and had the run of the place, made his way to the box occupied by the distinguished party and entered so quietly that none of them was attracted by his presence. Lincoln leant forward in an armchair, intent upon the performance. Placing his pistol against the back of the President's head, the assassin fired. Major Rathbun immediately sprang to his feet and grappled with Booth, but reeled back under a blow from the dagger which the madman had drawn after dropping his pistol. Booth now stepped to the front of the box and faced the audience shouting in exultant tones, "*Sic semper tyrannis!*" He then leapt to the stage but one of his spurs catching in some decorations, he was thrown heavily, breaking a bone of his left leg. He rose quickly, however, and unimpeded by the horror-stricken actors, made his way behind the scenes and out of the building to the alley where a horse awaited him.

The dying President was carried to the house of Mr. Peterson, across the way from the theater, where he lay unconscious until the end.

The news of the dreadful tragedy spread through the city and environs with the utmost rapidity. Mounted messengers dashed off in every direction bearing the direful tidings; the telegraph warned the outlying posts of the catastrophe; men ran through the streets shouting excitedly and many stood in the public ways and sobbed with hysterical

abandon. Drums called the troops to arms in the camps and fortifications. Church bells summoned the inhabitants to the streets. Cavalry patrols were soon in motion and military guards were posted at important points including the house in which the dying President lay and before which a crowd collected and remained until after the sad announcement of his passing.

Terror was added to the excitement and sorrow of the people when it was learned that at about the time of the attack upon Lincoln, an attempt had been made upon the life of Secretary Seward who was confined to his bed by illness. The most extravagant rumors were set afloat and men's minds were filled with fear of a plot of wholesale assassination. A correspondent, who was on the spot, has said: "I can never forget the alarm and horror of that night. The streets were crowded with persons, talking over the startling and shocking events. It was feared that a wide-extended conspiracy existed, and it was not known where the stroke would next fall. Thousands of persons feared to retire to their beds. Meantime, military guards were stationed throughout the city, and at the principal avenues of exit."

At sunrise of the 19th of April, the forts began firing minute guns, reminding the inhabitants of the sorrow-stricken city that the funeral services of the man they had learned to know and love would

be held that day. At an early hour a crowd gathered about the White House whither the remains of the slain President had been removed after his death. The building was draped in the insignia of mourning, as were the public offices and many private residences. The coffin reposed in the East Room, where the portraits upon the walls were hung about with black and white crape.

After noon the services for the burial of the dead, according to the rites of the Episcopal Church, were performed by Bishop Simpson and Doctor Hall of the Church of the Epiphany, and Doctor Gurley, pastor of the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church which Lincoln had attended, delivered a funeral oration. Around the bier was gathered a distinguished company, including Andrew Johnson, his successor as President of the United States, the Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Cabinet and of Congress, executive officers of the Government and other officials, generals of the army, representatives of foreign countries, and a number of prominent citizens from different parts of the country.

At two o'clock, one of the many soul-stirring processions that have traversed Pennsylvania Avenue, started from the Executive Mansion. Headed by a military escort a mile in length, marching to the wailing tones of the funeral dirge, which was accentuated by the measured discharge of cannon

and slowly-tolling bells, the column moved between lines of silent and bareheaded spectators, who filled the sidewalks in a dense mass. Immediately after the militia came the civic procession, with Marshal Lamon and the physicians who had attended the deceased at its head. Then followed the bier with its fifteen pall-bearers, selected from both branches of Congress, from the army and navy and from civil life. The funeral car was succeeded by a carriage containing Robert and "Tad," the sons of Abraham Lincoln, their mother being unequal to the public appearance. Behind the family and relatives, rode President Johnson, with two mounted officers on either side. Then came carriages containing the members of the Supreme Court, those of the Diplomatic Corps, Senators and Representatives, and various public officers. The rear of the procession was brought up by representatives of several societies, delegations from different parts of the country, a band of colored citizens and another military body.

The entire procession was three miles in length and, moving at a funeral pace, took more than two hours to pass. Arrived at the Capitol, the body was placed in the center of the rotunda, which together with the surmounting dome had been appropriately draped. Here it lay in state for two days with a military guard and was then carried to Springfield, Illinois, for interment, following, as

nearly as possible the route that had been taken by Lincoln in coming to the capital, and stopping at many cities on the way.

A little more than a month after the funeral of Abraham Lincoln, an event occurred in striking contrast to it. Whilst one was the saddest and most solemn spectacle in the memory of the people of Washington, the other was the grandest and most inspiring sight they had ever witnessed.

As the war gradually drew to a close with the surrender of one after another of the Confederate bodies during the month of April, the Union soldiers thus released from service in the field were massed at various points preparatory to disbandment. By the middle of May, two hundred thousand men were encamped in the vicinity of Washington, representing the Army of the Potomac, under General Meade, and the Division of the Mississippi, under General Sherman. It was decided to hold a grand review of these veteran troops before discharging them, the 23d and 24th days of the month being set for the purpose.

The former day of the great pageant opened in balmy splendor, with such spring weather as is one of the attractions of Washington. Flags and bunting decorated every building along Pennsylvania Avenue and many in other parts of the city. Crowds of unusual density filled the city, for the review had been heralded far and wide in the news-

papers of the country and many thousands were attracted to the capital by it. The reviewing stand, flanked on either hand by extensions, had been erected on the broad sidewalk in front of the White House. Facing it on the other side of the street was another pavilion, designed for the accommodation of members of Congress and visiting officials of various States. This inclosure was the midway point of a line of stands extending from Fifteenth to Seventeenth Streets.

“Let us witness the pageant from the reviewing stand. A brilliant company has gathered there, President Johnson occupies the center, with Lieutenant-General Grant seated beside him as reviewing officer. In the second line from the front are Generals Sherman, Hancock, and Torbert, Secretaries Sherman, Stanton, Welles and other Cabinet officers, while the pavilion and the stands on either side are crowded with officers of the army and diplomatic corps in brilliant uniforms, with ladies in gay attire, with governors, senators and civilians.

“General Meade passes the stand at 9:15 A. M. and salutes. The drum corps opposite peals out a salute in reply, and the march now commences. The splendid Cavalry Corps under Merritt first passes under review. General Grant gives it a nod of approval as he recalls its record. Hooker mobilized it. Pleasanton first successfully fought it. Enough to say of it is that it has been with Sheri-

dan in the Valley. It passes in platoons of sixteen horses, each trooper with drawn sabre.

“There around the corner of Fifteenth Street comes Custer heading his famous Division. A fair hand throws him a flower wreath, which he catches gallantly on his sword-arm; but the movement alarms his spirited stallion, which rears, plunges, and dashes off at a frightful speed down the Avenue. But the General is not easily thrown. Still holding the garland in one hand, he subdues the steed with the other, and after properly punishing him, forces him back into the ranks. The troopers of this division all wear the “Custer tie,” a scarf of red silk, merino, or flannel tied round the neck, with the ends falling nearly to the waist. The brave fellows are cheered all along the line, and as Davis’ division passes there are more cheers, for in its rear rides a lonely contraband on a mule, the picture of independence, receiving cheers and laughter with the nonchalance of an old campaigner.

“Next, with a clatter, comes those pets of the cavalry, the horse batteries, brigaded under their chief, Colonel Robertson. Those three-inch rifles and brass twelves have raided it with the cavalry up and down every valley and highway in old Virginia. The batteries pass by in sections, the buglers playing the calls in chorus with fine effect. They disappear and the mixed infantry and cavalry of the Provost-Marshal’s force, ‘the law-and-order

brigade' of the Army of the Potomac, take their place. The Engineer brigade of General Benham succeeds,—men of valor, skill, and patience, members of that indefatigable corps which has bridged every notable stream of the war — which could, if necessary, bridge the Potomac yonder in three hours. Two of their famous pontoon boats follow them; thus the cavalry passes — it has been an hour and fifteen minutes filing by — and the infantry, headed by the gallant Ninth Corps, comes marching by, officers, men, and horses fairly covered with bouquets.

“The Ninth — where has it not marched and fought? In North Carolina first, at Roanoke Island with Burnside, then with the Army of the Potomac at South Mountain, Antietam, and Fredericksburg, then transferred to Kentucky, Mississippi, to East Tennessee and the defense of Knoxville, and back to Virginia again, where under Grant, it smelled powder in the battles of the Wilderness, of the James, and of the Appomattox. A score of times it has been cut to pieces, and yet it has twenty-five thousand veterans in line to-day.”

“Here march two regiments that fought at Roanoke on February 8, 1862. Here are the bagpipes of the Seventy-ninth from New York, discoursing as stirring strains as when it marched down Broadway in the first week of the War, and here the shot-rent, blood-stained banners wave above the color-

guard, some in tatters, some barely holding to the staff, and others tied to the staff, the threads too precious to lose a single one. These fragments of silk speak volumes; they are more eloquent than words, and the people greet them with thunders of applause.

“A gap now intervenes and then we see the Maltese Cross of the Fifth Corps advancing up the Avenue. The men have been under arms since 5 A. M., yet they march with the free swinging step of the trained soldier, a step that carries its twenty-three thousand men past in an hour and fifteen minutes. The column is closed with the Second Corps of twenty-five thousand men, and the review of the Army of the Potomac is accomplished. The marching has been by company front twenty men in line, and has been perfect in its way. The alignment has been especially commended — so many glittering bayonets in line, so many helmets, so many knapsacks, so many right feet advanced; thus they have passed,— companies, battalions, regiments, brigades, divisions, corps,— nearly one hundred thousand men, in five and one-half hours without delay, mishap or error of any kind. No wonder the foreign diplomats and officers turn to one another and remark that there are no soldiers in the world that could surpass these American veterans.

“President Johnson has frequently acknowledged the salutes of the brigade commanders as they rode

by, but General Grant has sat imperturbable,— now and then making a commendatory remark as some exceptionally brave officer or distinguished regiment passed. Along the line of march, however, the brave veterans have been received with flowers, flutter of handkerchiefs, clapping of hands, and plaudits of the spectators.

“ The prettiest feature of the day was a band of some two thousand teachers, scholars, and trustees of the public schools of Washington, who were stationed on the north side of the Capitol, the girls gaily bedecked with ribbons of different colors, the boys with rosettes of similar hue upon their breasts, and all bearing flags, banners, and mottoes suitable to the occasion. As the hosts descended Capitol Hill, two thousand childish voices took up the strains of the ‘ Battle Cry of Freedom,’ and sang it through in honor of the victors.

“ The next day the Division of the Mississippi passed in review before the same august assemblage. More interest, if possible, was taken in this pageant than in that of the day before, partly because the Armies of Georgia and Tennessee were new to the people of Washington, and also because their career showed more of romantic incident and chivalric daring. By seven o’clock spectators begin to seek for good positions; there are more present than on the previous day.

“ It is a little past nine as General Sherman,

leading the advance, appears around the corner by Fifteenth Street, attended by his staff. Resounding cheers greet the hero of that grand march to the sea, who has added a new chapter to military history. Men wave their hats, ladies flutter delicate handkerchiefs and rain flowers on the favorite. He advances with the 'light of battle in his eyes,' salutes his reviewing officer and, dismounting beyond, joins the group in the pavilion. Meantime the serried ranks are sweeping by. The order of march is by close columns of companies, all colors unfurled, the brigade bands playing as on the march, the battalion colors to salute the reviewing officer by drooping, the field music by making three ruffles in passing without interrupting the march. Their General gazes proudly on them and with cause.

"These are the men who have counted their milestones by thousands, who began their career by marching from the Ohio to the Tennessee under Buell, who made that gallant raid into Alabama under the daring Mitchell, who checked the Confederate advance at Stone River under Rosecrans, who carried the passes of the Cumberland to seize Chattanooga, who stormed Missionary Ridge under Sherman, and fought above the clouds of Lookout Mountain under Hooker, who marched from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from Atlanta to the sea,

and who, under Sherman and McPherson, Slocum, Howard, and Kilpatrick, swept like a tornado through Georgia and the Carolinas and struck the death-blow to the rebellion.

“Spectators note the splendid physique, the sturdy, swinging step of the men. There are but few eastern regiments. These ranks have been filled chiefly from the yeomanry of the prairies, from the dwellers by the Great Lakes, and the pioneers of the Far West.

“First comes the Army of the Tennessee led by General John A. Logan, black-haired, dark-skinned, riding a superb, dapple-gray stallion, and who is greeted with repeated plaudits. Following him marches the Seventeenth Corps, General Frank P. Blair, then the Fifteenth Corps led by Hazen, hero of Fort McAllister. At the head of each brigade is a battalion of black pioneers clad in the old plantation garments, with axe and shovel on shoulder, marching with even, sturdy step, and superior air, for Sherman has declared that the parade shall be an exact picture of his army on the march. In the Twentieth Corps, under General Mower, the First Division, under the veteran General Williams, has the advance. Army men speak of the latter as having seen more battles than years, and tell over the list of his engagements — with Shields in the Valley, with Banks at Fort Royal, with Slocum at

Antietam, with Hooker at Chancellorsville, with Meade at Gettysburg, and with Hooker again at Lookout Mountain, Resaca, and Peach Tree Creek.

“Another crack division, General John W. Geary’s ‘White Star,’ marches by, and then everybody is on the *qui vive*, for here, following General Barnum’s brigade of New York troops, swings into view the first army pack-mule train ever seen in Washington. First come two diminutive donkeys, ridden by two small contrabands. Then a dozen patient pack-mules fitted with Mexican pack-saddles, laden with boxes of hardtack on one side and camp equipage on the other. As many stolid mule contrabands lead the mules, and they are followed by colored females on foot, and by a white soldier on horseback to see that all goes well. The mess and the mess-kit are borne by this cavalcade, and reclining contentedly on the mule’s panniers we see half a dozen game-cocks, a sure-footed goat, and a pair of young coons — a grotesque spectacle truly, one that provokes cheers and laughter from ten thousand throats.

“But again the bayonets glisten, colors gleam, and bugles blare. The Fifteenth Corps, forming the rear-guard, is passing now, famous for fighting and marching, once commanded by General George H. Thomas, and to-day partaking not a little of the qualities of the Rock of Chickamauga. Now the last battalion dips its colors, the last rank passes

and recedes from view. The Army of the Potomac and the Division of the Mississippi have passed by and into history." *

* "The Story of Washington," Charles Burr Todd. New York, 1893.

CHAPTER IX.

WASHINGTON IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

DURING the decade following the opening of the Civil War, Washington's population doubled and its wealth greatly increased, but the close of the conflict found the city unchanged and unimproved in its permanent features. It was a collection of ill-assorted houses and unfinished public buildings, lining poorly-graded streets, the whole surrounded by swamp-land and unreclaimed waste. Hovels were often found in close proximity, if not actual juxtaposition, to the finest residences — a survival of the earliest conditions in which we find General Washington lodging with his niece, Mrs. Peter, next door to the log cabin of the "pump borer named Mathias." There was no public water supply and the sewerage system was a fruitful source of disease. A restricted horse-car service was newly installed. Pennsylvania Avenue alone enjoyed the distinction of being lighted and that but poorly. The citizens were obliged to place their dependence upon the crudest kind of fire service and the most inadequate police protection. Thus, whilst Wash-

ington in 1870 contained a population of 130,000, it was less advanced in the matter of civic conveniences than many a State capital of smaller size.

Washington had, however, in this decade made a great gain in the place it had attained in the regard of the nation. It was no longer looked upon as a mere political camp and hunting-ground for office seekers. It had been fought for and held at the price of much precious blood. It had been the stronghold of the Union and was marked as its future focal point. Its inhabitants had done more than their share in support of the country's cause. Their men had been first in the field and their women had devoted themselves with whole-souled self-abnegation to succor and ministration. With the return of peace, Washington found itself regarded for the first time in its existence as the unquestionable permanent capital of the United States. Congress displayed an unwonted disposition to promote its progress and a President came into office who evinced a strong personal interest in the welfare of the long-neglected city. At this auspicious time one of the citizens of Washington came forward and, taking advantage of the favorable conditions, threw himself with enthusiastic energy into the task of improving the capital.

Early in 1871 Congress abolished the old English form of municipal government by mayor and councils and instituted the territorial system, with

a governor, legislature and delegate. A board of public works was created and Alexander R. Shepherd became its first chairman. Shepherd, who was subsequently elevated to the position of governor, was a remarkable man, whose great services to the city are only now tardily meeting with full appreciation and receiving just recognition by the erection by popular subscription of a statue in front of the New Municipal Building. He was a native of Washington, born in lowly circumstances and entirely dependent upon his native talents and unaided efforts for his rise in life. At an early age he had built up a large business as a master plumber and later dealt extensively in real estate. The latter circumstance had, perhaps, much to do with the unjust suspicions that were cast upon him at the close of his career, but it is now certain that Shepherd did not profit personally by the operations he conducted in behalf of the city and when he left his native place to begin life anew in a foreign land, it was with money borrowed from his friends.

With Alexander Mullett, the architect, as his chief adviser, Shepherd entered upon a scheme of improvement so comprehensive that it embraced every feature of the city and entailed a task of stupendous proportions. The urgent need of an efficient sewerage system first demanded his attention. Great difficulties lay in the way of its construction. Extensive portions of the city lay below

high watermark. The Tiber, which flowed into the canal near Capitol Hill, presented a serious problem. This was solved by deflecting the stream from its natural course into the Eastern Branch. The former beds of the creek and some of its branches were then bricked over and converted into the main arteries of the system. The canal was subjected to similar treatment, and before the close of 1875, there were one hundred and twenty-three miles of these sewers in operation and Washington's system of sewerage had been transformed from the worst to the best in the country.

At the same time work was in progress on a system of water supply. Some years previous an aqueduct had been built from the Falls of the Potomac which carried a generous flow of pure water to a reservoir two miles west of Georgetown. Heretofore, this reservoir had been connected only with the public buildings. Mains were now laid for the use of the city and in three years' time, one hundred and thirty-three miles of pipes were in operation.

Private enterprise was encouraged to instal an extensive gas-lighting system and, before the end of the year 1873, more than three thousand street lamps were in use. At the same time the Governor and his aide were engaged in the laborious task of reducing the streets to a uniform grade and paving them. The main avenues were one hundred and sixty feet in width and the streets from one hun-

dred and thirty to one hundred and forty feet in width, the aggregate area occupied by them being twenty-five hundred acres. In most cases these streets were of altogether too liberal proportions. Mullett hit upon an admirable plan for reducing the enormous expense of paving them. He extended the pavements a uniform distance into the streets and sodded corresponding spaces between the former and the house fronts, thus securing economy with a desirable improvement. Upwards of two hundred miles of sidewalk were thus treated, seven miles being laid in stone or concrete and the remainder in brick. Finally, there were planted along the thoroughfares twenty-five thousand shade trees of many varieties.

In this operation of street improvement, nearly sixty-miles of wood-paving were laid, nearly thirty miles of concrete, and more than ninety miles of cobble, macadam, gravel, and Belgian block, in all one hundred and eighty miles.

In three years' time, Shepherd had performed the arrears of seventy-five, and had lifted Washington from a position of disgraceful backwardness towards its proper place among the cities of the country. The effect of his work was immediately felt in the increase of population and enhancement of real estate values, but the heavy cost obscured the view of the great benefits to many people and he was assailed by abuse and accusations of dis-

honesty from every side. An investigation by Congress showed that not a dollar had been misappropriated, nor had one been expended for Shepherd's personal benefit, but the feeling ran so high against him that he was forced to leave the city. In Mexico, he met with unbounded success and later returned to Washington with the satisfaction of finding himself fully vindicated and occupying an honored place in the memory of the people of Washington.

Under the government by Commissioners, which replaced the territorial system in 1878, Washington has thriven and grown apace, but with the opening of the present century the city made a sudden bound forward and it is now at the commencement of a new period of activity and improvement which will leave it, in many respects, enjoying a position of undisputed preëminence. One revisiting the capital to-day, after a brief interval of absence, is struck by the evidence of progress on every hand. Magnificent structures for the use of the Government are rising at several points. Municipal improvements of various descriptions are being carried forward on liberal and artistic lines. In almost every block of the down-town district private enterprise is erecting handsome buildings for business purposes. Trains no longer traverse the streets, but enter the city through a tunnel. All the lines use the new Union Station, which is one

of the largest and most commodious railway stations in the world.

Many important and far-reaching improvements are contemplated and will be carried out at no distant date. Of these, the chief is that which will involve the entire reconstruction of the large district embraced in the triangle bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, the Mall, and Fifteenth Street, with the Capitol at its apex and the Monument bisecting its base. The plan contemplates the purchase of the property in private hands and the conversion of the triangle in question into an ornamental park, with boulevards, pathways, statuary, fountains and flower-beds. The outer edges — particularly Pennsylvania Avenue,— will be lined with imposing public buildings, of which the General Post Office and Municipal Building are forerunners. The area as a whole, with its splendid vista through the central boulevard from the Monument to the Capitol, will present a more attractive aspect than any portion of any city at present in existence can boast.

This scheme is not one of mere embellishment, though it could not have been better designed, if such had been the case. As a pure business proposition, it recommends itself strongly to Congress. The Government has, since its first days in Washington, been embarrassed for lack of adequate quarters for the transaction of its administrative busi-

ness and the pressure has constantly been increasing. Not only is serious loss of time and inconvenience occasioned by the scattering of the various offices, but the system of leasing — wasteful at the best — has entailed unwarranted extravagance. In the year 1907, the Government paid out in rental of office premises in the city of Washington, a sum in excess of three quarters of a million of dollars, or the equivalent of three per cent on the amount for which the property needed for the improvement under consideration can probably be acquired.

The erection of public buildings upon the south side of the Avenue will certainly stimulate private enterprise to the improvement of the opposite line and the street will eventually become the most handsome thoroughfare on earth. Commencing with the New Willard, at the head of this stretch, there will be a succession of fine hotels to accommodate the rapidly increasing transient traffic. Newspapers, railroads, commercial corporations, financial institutions and retail merchants will erect buildings in keeping with the surroundings and in harmony with one another.

A number of great public buildings are in course of construction at the capital and many more will be commenced as soon as the desired sites along Pennsylvania Avenue are available. The triple occupancy of the War, State and Navy Building will

not be possible much longer. Either one of these Departments could now find use for the entire accommodations and two of them must be provided with separate buildings. The Department of Justice and the Department of Commerce and Labor need to be furnished quarters and there are a dozen or more of important bureaus and commissions scattered about in leased premises, that should be adequately housed. The creation of one or two new Departments is imminent and every indication points to the expansion of the executive machinery of the Government with the course of time.

The District Commissioners and their staff have never enjoyed the advantage of a permanent location or convenient offices. Their present quarters — the best they have ever occupied — are composed of bare, dingy rooms, in an out-of-the-way rented office building. They now move into a handsome white marble structure at the junction of Pennsylvania Avenue and Thirteenth Street. With its approach of grass and shrubbery, forming a setting for the statue of Shepherd, the District Building is a fitting companion to the great Government edifices that are to rise on the same alignment.

Work on the new Agricultural Building is far advanced. It will be a truly magnificent structure, occupying a position near the middle of the triangle which has been described. In close proximity to it will stand the new Smithsonian Institution, in

course of construction. The ground has been broken for the imposing home of the Bureau of American Republics, which has hitherto conducted its business in a small private house at the corner of Jackson Place.

In October, 1907, the foundation stone of the National Episcopal Cathedral was laid upon St. Alban's Mount. This will be the most beautiful and imposing ecclesiastical edifice in America and will bear comparison with the celebrated cathedrals of England. Its dominant site will bring the Gothic towers and pinnacles into view from every part of the city.

An interesting tradition attaches to the foundation of the Cathedral. When the capital of the nation was first established in the District of Columbia, Joseph Nourse, Registrar of the Treasury, lived upon St. Alban's Mount. He was a religious enthusiast and much given to meditation and prayer in the oak grove that stood contiguous to his house. His most cherished dream was that when the straggling village in the bottom-lands should have grown into a populous city, a house of worship befitting a great nation might be erected upon the ground upon which he stood. The ceremonies connected with the laying of the foundation stone of the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul took place in this very grove. Nor was this mere accident. Phœbe Nourse, inspired by her grandfather's enthusiasm, left her all

—"forty gold dollars in a hair-pin box," the proceeds of needlework,—and gave the ground for the founding of a church. This was in the forties, and from that humble endowment the first free church in the district of Columbia,—an Episcopal place of worship,—rose on St. Alban's Mount. It was fitting, therefore, that the same site should be chosen for the twentieth century cathedral.

The grand boulevard bridge, designed to carry Connecticut Avenue over the gorge of Rock Creek, was completed before the close of the year 1907. It is the largest concrete bridge in the world and has been constructed at a cost of nearly one million dollars. Another work of this character, which is likely to be undertaken before many years, is the Memorial Bridge across the Potomac, to be "erected as a tribute to American patriotism." The design, which is the joint production of Mr. E. P. Casey and Mr. W. H. Burr, is unique and combines the extreme of gracefulness with the appearance of strength.

Extensive improvement of Rock Creek Park is in progress, in which the Commissioners are wisely refraining from unnecessary interference with the natural features that are so widely noted for their beauty. On the other side of the District, a park is planned to extend along the Anacostia, and in connection with that work, the river will be deepened with a view to improving navigation.

It frequently happens nowadays that travelers who are familiar with the capitals of the world, concede to Washington the premier place for beauty. This distinction is earned for it by its clear air and cleanliness, its beautiful public buildings and private residences, its broad streets and avenues, with focal circles and — above all — by its wealth of magnificent trees. Every thoroughfare in the city is shaded and every reservation wooded. The work — which was started by Jefferson, who planted Pennsylvania Avenue with Lombardy poplars — has been done under intelligent and tasteful municipal direction, so that there is apparent a distinct design, characterized by harmony and variety. Here we see a broad avenue, lined with stately oaks or spreading elms; there a less wide street appropriately bordered by lindens, sycamores, maples, or gingkos. The Capitol owes much of its impressive aspect to the splendid trees that surround it and not a little of the attractiveness of the White House is derived from similar accessories. Where can a more imposing vista be found than that of Massachusetts Avenue, as one looks through its ranks of American lindens to Thomas Circle? Or can one imagine anything more beautiful than the approach to the Agricultural Department through symmetrical rows of Japanese gingkos?

Washington, with its frequent focal circles and

grassy triangles at the points where streets converge, has unusual facility for the erection and display of statuary and this advantage has been pursued to the fullest extent. It is said that the city contains more equestrian statues than all the other cities of the world combined. This is to be accounted for by the national desire, keen in the period immediately following the Civil War, to do honor to the officers who took prominent parts in the conflict. In the pursuit of this very laudable object, it is not unlikely that some less picturesque, but no less deserving personages have been overlooked. There is a noticeable absence of any statue of Hamilton in the capital of the nation that owes more to him than to any of his contemporaries save only Washington. John Smith is another worthy who deserves a place upon a pedestal in Washington. But then one might readily name a score of men whose services to their country better entitle them to a conspicuous place of honor in the capital than many whose carved effigies occupy prominent positions. Hardly a visitor to Washington — be he native or alien,—but is surfeited with the presentations of uniformed heroes and looks with regretful disappointment for some memorial of one or another noble character whose name is inseparably linked with the history of his country.

Washington is justly proud of its institutions of science and learning. Foremost among the former

is the Smithsonian Institution, which, together with the National Museum, occupies two buildings in the extensive reservation to the south of the Mall. Whilst, however, the Smithsonian is the chief exponent of American scientific thought, its activities are extended to every branch of human knowledge. It has, for more than half a century, been one of the most important agencies in the intellectual life of our people and "has been a rallying point for the workers in every department of scientific and educational work, and the chief agency for the free exchange of books, apparatus of research, and of scientific intelligence between this and other countries."

The founder of this inestimably useful institution was James Smithson, or James Macie, as he called himself in early life. He was an illegitimate son of the Earl of Northumberland, by the cousin of that nobleman's wife. "The best blood of England flows in my veins," he once wrote; "on my father's side I am a Northumberland, on my mother's I am related to kings, but this avails me not.* My name shall live in the memory of man when the titles of the Northumberlands and the Percys are extinct and forgotten."

* As a matter of fact, the nobility of descent was all on the mother's side. The family of the Percys was long extinct and Sir Hugh Smithson was related to the Earls of Northumberland only by his marriage to the daughter of one of them.

James Smithson devoted his life to scientific studies, especially that of mineralogy, in which he was considered one of the leading men of his day. Upon his death, which occurred at Genoa, in 1829, it was found that he had bequeathed all his property to the United States "to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men."

No reason can be definitely assigned for this generous and altogether unlooked for endowment. So far as is known, he had never been in America, nor is there any evidence, other than the bequest, of special interest on his part in the country. It is not even known that an American was among his intimate friends, and his library contained but two books relating to the United States. It is probable that he was prompted by a belief in the future greatness of the new nation and consideration of its needs.

Six years after the death of Smithson, the United States legation in London was notified that his estate, amounting to about half a million dollars, was held by the British Court of Chancery. But at this point great public opposition to the acceptance of the gift developed. Calhoun and other eminent statesmen contended that it was beneath the dignity of the United States to receive presents and some intimated that the donor was seeking immortality

for too moderate an equivalent. But the influence of John Quincy Adams, who took a more practical view of the case and had a just realization of what it involved, prevailed at length and a commissioner was sent to England to prosecute the claim on behalf of the Government. A favorable decision was easily secured and the legacy was conveyed to America in the form of upwards of one hundred thousand gold sovereigns, which were immediately recoinced into current money. The permanent fund thus established has, by the increments of interest and various legacies, swelled to the amount of practically one million dollars, the greater part of which is held on deposit in the United States Treasury, at six per cent.

The first meeting of the Board of Regents took place in September, 1846, when Professor Joseph Henry was elected to the office of Secretary and his plan of organization approved. "The successful organization of the Institution," says one of its publications, "has been the result of long-continued effort on the part of men of unusual ability, energy, and personal influence. No board of trustees, or regents, no succession of officers serving out their terms in rotation could have developed from a chaos of conflicting opinions, a strongly individualized establishment like the Smithsonian Institution. The names of Henry and Baird are so thoroughly identified with the history of the Institution during

its first four decades that their biographies would together form an almost complete history of its operations. A thirty-two years' term of uninterrupted administrative service was rendered by one, thirty-seven years by the other. Perhaps no other organization has had the benefit of so continuous an administration of forty years, beginning with its birth and continuing in an unbroken line of consistent policy — a career of growing usefulness and enterprise."

Samuel P. Langley was the third in the succession of heads of the Institution. To him was due the establishment of the National Zoological Park and of the Astrophysical Observatory. Under his administration, also, an additional building for the National Museum to cost three and one-half millions of dollars was authorized by Congress and is in course of construction.

Upon the death of Professor Langley in 1907, the Regents of the Smithsonian Institution appointed Charles D. Walcott, who for many years had been the Director of the Geological Survey, to fill the vacancy. Dr. Walcott, besides being one of the leading scientists of the world, is a man of great executive ability and breadth of vision. It is confidently believed that under his direction the Smithsonian Institution will enter upon a period of greatly extended usefulness.

The Smithsonian Institution is the custodian of

Smithsonian Institution



the National Museum, which is the only lawful place of deposit of "all objects of art and of foreign and curious research, and all objects of natural history, plants, and geological and mineralogical specimens belonging to the United States." The Museum is divided into three distinct branches, those of Record, Research and Education, and its contents conform to this classification.

It is not generally known that we have a national gallery of art, or, more strictly speaking, the material for one. That such is the case must be apparent from the explicit conditions of the foregoing quotation, for the United States owns many paintings and other works of art that are scattered about in numerous places. But, aside from these, the nation owns a valuable and extensive collection of pictures that need only a building to make a very considerable display.

A few years after the passage of the Act of Congress, in 1846, which constituted the Smithsonian Institution the legal depository for the national art possessions, the Marsh collection of prints was purchased, but aside from this little has been done in the way of accumulating an art collection. From time to time the Government has made additions to the collections of the Library of Congress and the Corcoran Art Gallery, whilst the officials as well as the public in general had gradually forgotten that we possessed a legally constituted na-

tional gallery of art. Attention was directed to the matter in a very peculiar way. In 1903, Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston left a collection of paintings to the Corcoran Gallery with the proviso that in case a national gallery should ever be established the collection should revert to it. The Corcoran Gallery declined the bequest under the conditions and the President, desiring to save the collection to the nation, recommended in his annual message of December, 1904, a legislative measure which would have been practically a repetition of the Act of 1846. This led the way to the discovery of the "misplaced institution" and a decree of the Supreme Court, in 1906, "gave legal standing to a national gallery."

Although there are as yet no buildings devoted to their reception, the collections of the United States have grown rapidly in recent years. In 1906, Mr. Charles L. Freer, of Detroit, deeded to the Smithsonian Institution his collection of paintings, prints, potteries, and other art objects, valued at six hundred thousand dollars and promised to bequeath to the Institution the sum of half a million dollars for the purpose of constructing a building in which to house them. In March, 1907, Mr. William T. Evans, of New York, offered to present to the National Gallery a collection of paintings by American artists of reputation — an

offer which was promptly and gratefully accepted. Other gifts of less extensive character have been made to the Government since the existence of a national gallery has become known and the privilege of exhibiting several noted collections has been extended to it.

The Corcoran art collection, together with the building it originally occupied at the corner of Seventeenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, and an endowment fund, was the gift of the late William Wilson Corcoran to the public by deed dated May 10, 1869, "to be used solely for the purposes of encouraging American genius in the production and preservation of works pertaining to the Fine Arts, and kindred objects." With the condition that it should be open to visitors without pecuniary charge whatever at least two days in each week, with authority to charge for admission at other times such moderate and reasonable fee as might be prescribed.

The present handsome building, which was opened in 1897, stands fronting on Seventeenth Street, between E Street and New York Avenue. The style of architecture is Neo-Grecian, the material being white Georgia marble, on a basement of Milford pink granite. The first story is pierced by windows, the second rises in a solid white wall, broken only by a row of open-work marble panels

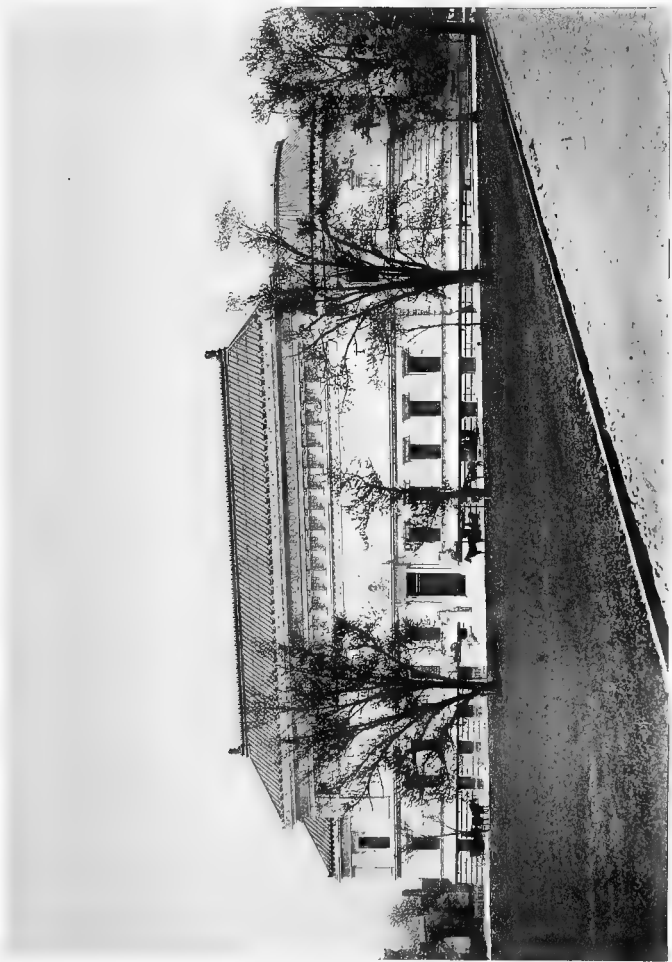
along the upper edge, used as ventilators to the galleries, which receive their light from the glass roof.

The collection is rich in paintings, statuary, bronzes, and other works of art. In connection with the Gallery a free school of art is maintained.

Early in 1907, the Corcoran Gallery of Art held a notable exhibition of contemporary American oil paintings which was marked with extraordinary success. During the month that the exhibition was open to the public, it was viewed by over sixty thousand persons. Twenty-six pictures were sold for nearly fifty thousand dollars in the aggregate, thirteen of them being purchased for the permanent collection of the Gallery. Similar exhibitions are to be held annually in the future and it is hoped that the movement will do much to encourage American art and perhaps prove to be the inception of a permanent American salon.

One of the most cherished hopes of George Washington in connection with the capital was that it should become the seat of a great institution of learning and in his last will and testament he urged the establishment of a university there. In 1821, a charter was granted by Act of Congress creating "The Columbian College in the District of Columbia." In 1825, the Medical School was organized, and forty years later, the Law School. In 1866, William Wilson Corcoran gave the Medical School

Corcoran Art Gallery



a building and in 1872, made an endowment for the purpose of converting the college into a university. In the following year an Act of Congress authorized the desired change. From time to time there were organized a Scientific School, a Dental School, a School of Graduate Studies, and a Department of Jurisprudence and Diplomacy.

In 1904, the George Washington Memorial Association proposed that the name of the institution should be changed to that of "The George Washington University," and offered if that should be done to erect a new building for graduate study and scientific research at a cost of half a million dollars. The change was made in the same year. Shortly afterwards Congress authorized the incorporation of colleges under the University charter, since when there have been organized the Washington College of Engineering, the National College of Pharmacy, the College of Political Sciences, and the Division of Education.

The George Washington University is a non-sectarian institution, maintaining as high a standard of education and offering as extensive facilities as any university in the country. During the year 1907, it had upwards of thirteen hundred students entered upon its books. These were drawn from every part of the United States and many of them from foreign countries. The faculty and teaching staff, numbering over two hundred, include men

of the very highest attainments in their several specialties. The University offers a number of prizes and scholarships for excellence in various branches of study.

The Howard University, for the higher education of negroes, was established by Act of Congress in 1867, and named after General Oliver O. Howard, who was for six years its president. Although especially founded for the benefit of the colored race, it is open to all without any distinction of sex or race, and there are among its teachers and students a number of white persons. It has about five hundred students from all parts of the country who are distributed among its departments of theology, medicine, law, college, normal, and preparatory. The courses are from two to four years in extent. The medical department which is always largely attended has the benefit of the clinical instruction of the Freedman's Hospital. The corps of instructors is capable and sufficiently numerous. Tuition is free in the preparatory, normal, and college departments and the cost of it low in the others. Congress makes an annual appropriation for the support of the institution.

Georgetown University is the oldest Catholic educational institution in the United States. It was founded by John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore, in 1792. It was originally a small college, but in 1815, was converted into a university. Its

present splendid building was begun in 1877. It is said to be the largest devoted to educational purposes in the United States. The University has a large number of students, mainly from the South, and an able corps of professors.

CHAPTER X.

JOURNALISM IN WASHINGTON.

THE United States Government is one of the few that have not "official gazettes," as they are usually termed. Such a publication is, however, in contemplation and probably will be soon established at Washington. It will probably be restricted to executive orders and similar announcements. This is almost the only civilized country in which there is not at least one government organ — a newspaper whose political utterances are known to be inspired by the administration and whose editor consults with the prime minister or some member of the cabinet before committing himself to any important expression of opinion. Our papers are mostly partisan but they all maintain their independence and right of free discussion. Such has not, however, always been the case. In the early years of the Government several public sheets were avowed representatives of the administration or its opponents and in cases were practically subsidized.

The *Gazette of the United States* was started in New York as a distinctly Government organ. It

was edited by John Fenno, but controlled by Alexander Hamilton and contributed to by John Adams and other prominent Federalists. As an offset to this newspaper, Madison aided Philip Freneau in establishing the *National Gazette*, and during Jefferson's term, the publisher was taken care of with a position in the State Department. Personalities soon figured in the warfare of these organs and became a pronounced feature of the journalism of the times. Hamilton, writing anonymously, characterized Freneau's occupancy of the dual position of government clerk and partisan editor as "indelicate, unfit, and inconsistent with republican purity." Freneau replied with an affidavit declaring that Jefferson had never contributed a cent nor a line to the *National Gazette*. Hamilton seems to have been the first to introduce the personal note to the journalism in America and in the exchange of attacks that followed he and his party had decidedly the worst of it, although it must be admitted that they were less reckless and vulgar in their expressions than were their opponents. Washington was intensely disgusted by the intemperance of the assaults of the opposition press and wrote that the "publications in Freneau's and Bache's papers were outrages on decency." Bache, a grandson of Franklin, published the *Advertiser*, afterwards called the *Aurora*, as a Jeffersonian organ.

Fenno's announcement of "a national paper, to

be published at the seat of the Federal Government," defined the following objects: "1. Early and authentic accounts of the proceedings of Congress. 2. Impartial sketches of the debates in Congress. 3. Essays on the great subject of government in general, and the Federal Legislature in particular. 4. A series of paragraphs calculated to catch the 'living manners as they rise,' etc., etc.

"Published every Wednesday and Saturday. Three dollars per annum, exclusive of postage. Subscriptions will be received in all capital towns on the continent; also, at the City Coffee House, and at 86 William street. April 15, 1789."

The price of newspapers at that time prohibited the sale of many copies but the circulation was large, for each copy had numberless readers. The journal that found its way to an outlying district or which was taken at a tavern passed through the hands of one after another rustic until it fell to pieces. Even in the towns several families commonly clubbed a subscription to a newspaper and in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, the file of the current journals was one of the chief attractions of the coffee house or hotel. Probably the public evinced greater interest in the doings of the Government during the administration of Washington than at any subsequent period until the Civil War and the earliest newspapers exercised an influence much greater than they merited.

During the presidency of John Adams there were fifteen dailies published in the country and eight of these issued from Philadelphia, being a greater number than the city supports at the present day. For the most part the press was anti-Federalist and the administration papers were poorly edited. This led the party in power to attempt suppressive measures. Despite the warnings of Hamilton, who was strongly averse to the step, the Sedition Bill was passed. It established the strictest kind of censorship. Prosecutions were set on foot and several editors were sent to jail or fined, whilst Cobbet, one of the most able, was forced to flee the country. He went to England and began the reporting of parliamentary debates which was the inception of the present complete system.

The Sedition Bill, which was repealed in 1801, failed to effect its purpose. The newspapers continued their rancorous attacks and published the grossest calumnies and most indecent personalities. Reading the contemporary accounts of *affaires de cœurs* with negresses and Hamilton's *liaison* with Mrs. Reynolds, one realizes that "yellow journalism" is by no means a latter-day creation. The fatal duel between Hamilton and Burr was the culmination of a newspaper controversy carried on in the *Evening Post* and *Morning Chronicle* of New York.

When the Government moved to Washington,

Samuel Harrison Smith accompanied it, with the encouragement, if not at the actual instigation of Jefferson, for the express purpose of starting a newspaper at the capital. This was called the *National Intelligencer*, but the Federalists dubbed it the "National Smoothing-plane" and its editor, "Silky, Milky Smith." The *Intelligencer* was a decorous, but colorless and at times inane, sheet. It had practically no rival at Washington for a while and under the fostering wing of President Jefferson managed to establish itself securely, but it was never a paying property and although it had an exceptionally long life, it is doubtful if it ever exerted much influence outside of Washington. Gales was its proprietor at the time of the British invasion, when the office and plant were burnt. The elder Gales sat to Charles King for a portrait and, against the protests of the artist, insisted upon being depicted as holding a copy of the *Intelligencer* in his hand. The painter, who was noted for his wit, consoled himself by displaying the words "Dry Goods" very legibly, as though at the head of the advertising columns. The satire seems to have escaped the family for it stands to this day, in whimsical testimony to the general opinion of the *Intelligencer*. Perhaps, the period of the paper's greatest usefulness was during the proprietorship of Seaton, who as mayor of Washington served the city well. With the advent of Jackson, the journal turned

Whig in politics and so remained until the Civil War, when it became Democratic and sympathized with the secessionists.

The milk-and-water quality of the *Intelligencer* could never satisfy the ardent temperament of "Old Hickory." He desired a vigorous and dominant organ that should cow and overshadow all rivals. With a view to establishing such a medium, Jackson sent to Kentucky for Frank Blair, a man of the same domineering spirit as himself. Blair started the *Globe* and it soon made itself felt, though not always in a creditable manner. At any rate, the accusation of tameness was not applicable to Washington journalism from this time on.

In February, 1837, Reuben Whitney, a member of the staff of the *Daily Globe*, was arraigned at the bar of the House for contempt in failing to attend the meeting of a committee, by whom he had been summoned. His excuse was that he could not obey without subjecting himself to outrage and violence in the committee room. Representative Fairchild, of Maine, a member of the committee in question, testified to the facts. It appeared that Bailie Peyton, of Tennessee, who was on the committee, regarding a certain answer of Whitney as offensive to himself, sprang to his feet and cried out: "Mr. Chairman, I wish you would inform this witness that he is not to insult me in his answers; if he does, I will take his life on the spot." The witness,

rising, claimed the protection of the committee; on which Peyton exclaimed, "You shan't speak; you shan't say one word while you are in this room; if you do, I shall put you to death." Henry A. Wise, the chairman, then intervened saying: "Yes, this insolence is insufferable." A few minutes later, Peyton, observing that the witness was looking at him, exclaimed: "His eyes are on me; he is looking at me — he shan't do it — he shan't look at me!" Wise in a speech made the admission that he was armed, adding: "I watched the motion of that right arm, the elbow of which could be seen by me, and had it moved one inch he had died on the spot. This was my determination." That Whitney was unarmed and had no thought of breaking the peace, carried no weight with the brutes who assailed him.

James Watson Webb, Washington correspondent of the *New York Courier* and the swashbuckler Wise conspired to bring about the duel between Graves and Cilley which was little less than a cold-blooded murder. The affair between Clay and Senator King of Alabama, in which a duel was narrowly averted, grew out of the attacks of the *Globe* upon the former and his statement on the floor of the Senate Chamber that he considered Blair "a common libeller and the *Globe* a libel."

At this time a third paper was published in Washington by Duff Green, on E Street, between Ninth

and Tenth, northwest. It was called *The Telegraph* and was the organ of Calhoun and the exponent of the nullification doctrine. The career of the *Telegraph* — which by-the-way antedated that convenience by several years — was short and tumultuous. Green sought to establish a “Printers’ College,” in which apprentices were to be educated at the case for the journalistic profession. The real object was to train nullification editors for service in different parts of the South and, perhaps, elsewhere. The *Intelligencer* and *Globe*, though opposed in politics made common cause against the *Telegraph* and instigated its printers to strike, which they were the more ready to do because they feared that Duff Green’s scheme would glut the market with compositors and pressmen. Frequent meetings were held and culminated in a riotous fight between the “rats,” as Green’s apprentices were termed, and the “regulars.” The ringleaders of the latter force were committed to prison and, although they had unquestionably provoked the disturbance, President Jackson promptly pardoned them. The *Telegraph* maintained a precarious existence for a few years longer and then quietly suspended publication.

“Polk bought out old Blair and brought Father Ritchie from Richmond to edit his new paper, the *Union*. The venerable Blair forthwith retired from his long autocracy of luxurious pensionership ;

he had been the most dependent independent man who ever reduced public sentiment to a printing job. The old 'galvanized corpse,' as Clay called him, had largely ruled the party which ruled the United States for three administrations. He used to prepare an article in the *Globe* office and send slips of it to the papers dependent upon him for an editorial policy; these papers would alter it and publish it; then old Blair would copy back into his own paper these modified articles, making a whole broad sheet, and call them 'Voice of the Democratic press.' This tyrannical and gifted old man used to be the political Pope of the party, to read people out of it. Some of his successors try to carry the keys, but there is no party nowadays strong enough to afford to lose a newspaper." *

The *National Era* and the *Southern Press* were started in Washington at about this time. The career of the latter was brief and unnoteworthy but the former created a stir during the mayorship of Peter Force, when its offices were attacked by a mob of Southern sympathizers who had been offended by the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in the columns of the paper.

The good faith that newspapers and correspondents generally exercise towards officials and public characters at the present day, was by no

* Washington, Outside and Inside. Geo. Alfred Townsend, Cincinnati, 1873.

means the rule in earlier times. Many prominent men held the press and its representatives in the greatest distrust and not without justification. During Fillmore's term, correspondents in the reception room adjoining the Cabinet chamber, were in the habit of eavesdropping. The discovery was made by Webster, who was highly incensed by it. President Pierce looked upon the correspondents as pirates and took the precaution of having his messages set up in the White House. Lincoln had more than one unpleasant experience with newspaper men and said: "I have found that documents given to the press are always prematurely published."

In the first half of the past century, public men were much more sensitive of printed abuse of themselves than they are now and less disposed to concede the right of free expression or to recognize the futility of attempting to check it. Editors were prone to publish statements injurious to individuals without taking ordinary pains to gage their truthfulness and the most grossly vulgar personalities appeared in the leading journals. The following illustration is no exceptional one but rather characteristic. In 1858, the *New York Tribune* wrote of the Honorable William Sawyer, of Wisconsin, as a "critter" who devoured sausages behind the Speaker's chair and wiped his hands upon his bald pate. "Then," continued the article, "he

picks his teeth with a jack-knife, and goes on the floor to abuse the Whigs as the British party." Of course the statements were purely fanciful and equally of course the lampooned member made a mistake in bringing the matter to the attention of the House. It is true, he secured the disfranchisement of the offending correspondent, but at the expense of attaching to himself the nickname of "Sausage Sawyer."

In his "Recollection of Men and Things at Washington," L. A. Gobright, who for many years represented a metropolitan paper at the capital, gives an interesting account of the censorship that was established during the first period of the Civil War, the only effective censorship of the press in the history of the country. The first messenger from the field of Bull Run was a newspaper correspondent who reported a Union victory and the glad news was telegraphed far and wide as soon as possible. Some hours later, the disheartening truth was learned and the correspondents at once filed despatches according with it. "Judge of our disappointment," says Gobright. "The papers which arrived here the next day, did not contain a single word of the 'disaster;' but only the telegrams of the first part of the occurrences. The people of the North were rejoicing over a victory, not having been permitted to learn that we suffered a defeat. The telegraph censor, by official order had 'closed

down ' on us. He permitted the *good* news to go, but suppressed the *bad*. . . . The rule was so severe that censors had to be very circumspect, for they feared arrest and imprisonment if they should, by inadvertence, suffer an obnoxious sentence to be telegraphed. Soft lead pencils for some kinds of paper, and heavy pen with the blackest of ink for others, were essential to the performance of their grave functions. The censors were not all passably good scholars; owing to this, it not infrequently happened that the marking out of a sentence, or less, left the remainder of the telegram a mass of nonsense, there being no proper connection of its parts. The censor was the sole, the supreme judge. If *he* did not like the despatch, he would assassinate it, or so maim it as to destroy its original features." It must be remembered, in this connection, that Washington was, at the time, a camp under martial law and the censorship was no more than the regulation of news despatches that is usually exercised by military authorities under similar circumstances.

The restrictions on telegraphic despatches were not, however, such great hardships at the time. The wires were generally used for but brief items, the fullest statements being committed to the mails. There was no competition between the various correspondents, of whom there were about a score in the capital during the War. On the contrary, they

seem to have formed themselves into a sort of mutual aid society. Each was writing for several papers — in cases as many as a dozen — and making from ten to twenty thousand dollars a year.

Strangely enough, the people of Washington did not look to their own papers for news. The *Evening Star* was the only local journal that made any live effort to be up to date and it was in its infancy at the time. Washington depended on the Baltimore sheets for late and reliable intelligence, and particularly upon the *Sun*, which kept three or four representatives at the capital. A story used to be current of a man meeting Gales, the publisher of the *Intelligencer*, upon the street one morning and inquiring, "What's the news?" "I don't know," Gales is purported to have replied, "I haven't yet seen the *Sun*."

The War gave a tremendous impetus to the press all over the country and to journalism in all its forms. This development has nowhere been more marked than in Washington. Since that time there have grown up in it at least two papers that rank with the very best published in America and since that time the outside sheets have sent their brightest and brainiest men to represent them at the national center. The character of the local papers has entirely changed. Whereas, in the early days, they were intensely partisan and often dependent in one way or another on official aid, they are now entirely

independent in politics and carefully avoid the contraction of any obligations to officials.

"Thirty years ago," says Richardson,* who was one of the twenty-six correspondents at the capital after the close of the War, "it was common custom for men of the highest rank to visit the newspaper offices. In old Newspaper Row as it used to exist there might be found any evening senators, representatives, cabinet ministers, now and then the vice-president, foreign ministers, prominent Federal officials from the large cities of the country, governors of states, etc. In the phrase then common among Washington correspondents, every one of them had his own senator, representative or cabinet member who came to his office and told him the news. All confidences of public men were regarded as inviolate, and I recall no incident of consequence where it was ever betrayed. On the contrary, the correspondents have faced the formal displeasure of the Senate and the House rather than give up the name of their informant."

Although he is almost necessarily partisan, the Washington correspondent seldom suffers any curtailment of his mental breadth. His position demands so many admirable and useful qualities that it is no wonder that he frequently deserts his profession for less arduous and more lucrative pursuits.

* Recollections of a Correspondent, Records of the Columbia Historical Society, Volume 6.

Many have been appointed to important Government offices, generally on account of their personal abilities rather than their literary services. Indeed, it has come to be widely recognized in recent years that a capable journalist almost invariably makes an able man of affairs. Not a few Washington correspondents have taken prominent positions in commercial corporations. Some have become editors or publishers of large dailies and others have stuck to the life they loved, despite its exactions, dying in harness, rich in the respect of their fellows and their host of friends.

The work of the Washington correspondent is the most important in American journalism. It is he who informs the people as to what their Government is doing and the manner in which their representatives are acquitting themselves. He often prepares the public mind for some important legislative or administrative action which otherwise might create widespread misunderstanding or general distrust. He seizes a news item of vital concern, perhaps, late in the afternoon, scurries around and gets his details, digests them and sets his story forth in clear forceful language. Then whilst the millions slumber he keeps the wires hot so that his despatch, maybe occupying two columns of the paper, lies on the most distant breakfast tables the next morning. It is a hard life and one in which few men succeed.

No account of journalism in Washington could approximate completeness without some description of the Gridiron Club, the most famous association of its kind in the world.

It has been said, that at the close of the Civil War there were somewhat more than a score of correspondents permanently stationed at Washington. As their number — which now exceeds two hundred — increased with time, they began to feel the need of some social organization that should afford entertainment for their leisure hours and promote cordial relations amongst them. The immediate outcome was a press club of the ordinary character which, however, failed to satisfy the undefined but distinctly existent desire of these newspaper men.

The birth of the Gridiron Club dates from a dinner given by Judge R. F. Crowell, one of the Auditors of the Treasury, to a number of Washington correspondents in January, 1885. The speeches of the evening elicited the suggestion of a club, one of the most prominent features of which should be the entertainment of their friends by the correspondents. Two weeks later, a number of the latter met at Welcker's famous restaurant to discuss the matter. As those present included the most talented and best known journalists of the day, several of whom have since become prominent in public life, their names will be of interest to the reader:

C. A. Boynton, Western Associated Press.
H. V. Boynton, Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.
John M. Carson, Philadelphia Ledger.
F. C. Crawford, Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.
P. V. DeGraw, New York Associated Press.
Frank A. Depuy, New York Times.
E. G. Dunnell, New York Times.
Edwin Fleming, St. Louis Republican.
F. A. G. Handy, Chicago Times.
Perry S. Heath, Indianapolis Journal.
A. W. Lyman, New York Sun.
David R. McKee, New York Associated Press.
Charles T. Murray, Philadelphia Times.
H. B. F. Macfarland, Boston Herald.
J. J. Noah, New York Star.
C. M. Ogden, Philadelphia Press.
Ben Perley Poore, Providence Journal.
Fred Perry Powers, Chicago Times.
M. G. Seckendorff, New York Tribune.
O. O. Stealey, Louisville Courier Journal.
E. B. Wright, Chicago Tribune.
Robert J. Wynne, Cincinnati Commercial Gazette.

At this meeting a plan was formed and one week later the Gridiron Club was organized with the following officers: President, Ben Perley Poore; Vice President, John M. Carson; Secretary and Treasurer, Charles T. Murray.

The first dinners of the Club, which were held

each month at Welcker's, drew but a sparse attendance — at the fifth there were but seven members and three guests at the table. The organization was hardly ever mentioned in print at that time and the immense popularity that it enjoys at present is the culmination of a steady but slow success. From the first, however, the brains and energies of its members were devoted to making its entertainments unique. Gradually it gained a reputation for the originality and cleverness of the intellectual features of its feasts and later, as well, for the distinguished character of its guests. With so many men of exceptional parts working together towards the same end, the ultimate result could not be anything but unbounded success.

Among the earliest rules adopted by the Club, are two which particularly affect the character of its dinners. One of these is that "Reporters are never present" and its rigid observance makes possible the freedom of speech that is one of the unique features of these gatherings. An annual dinner of the Gridiron will command a full page of the leading papers but the account will not contain a line of the speeches delivered on the occasion. On one occasion only has this observance been deviated from and then for the convenience of a guest. The Tenth Annual Dinner of the Gridiron Club numbered among the guests, Monsignor Satolli, the first Papal Legate of the Holy See in the United States.

Being unacquainted with the rule regarding the publication of speeches made at its board, the distinguished visitor planned to deliver at the dinner an address explaining his presence in America and defining the object of his mission. There was a great deal of public interest and speculation on the subject and the Club decided, for the benefit of newspaper readers, to waive its regulation regarding publicity in this instance, so that the journals of the following morning might contain the important announcement.

The second rule in question admits of no possible suspension and at the opening of every Gridiron banquet the President brings it to the attention of the assemblage. It is that "ladies are always constructively present." Wit and hilarity hold sway at a Gridiron feast but they are always clean, wholesome and refined. The little gold griddle that one sees in the lapel of many men in Washington is frequently taken as the mark of the *bon vivant* but it may safely be accepted as the badge of the gentleman.

The Gridiron remains, as it was at the beginning, a club exclusively of newspaper correspondents. It has consistently refused to admit to membership any but men actively engaged in journalism. Some years ago, when the organization had grown into pronounced popularity, several Senators and Representatives applied for admission as limited mem-

bers and, although the matter was taken into consideration, it was wisely decided to maintain the distinctive character of its composition. The membership includes resident, non-resident and limited members. The active resident membership is limited to forty, some of whom are not now engaged in journalism, although all must have been at the time of their election. There is always a large waiting list of applicants. On the non-resident list may be found the names of many well-known men who have left their work in Washington to occupy the editor's desk or some equally responsible position on the paper they once represented at the nation's capital; not a few, too, who have abandoned their former profession for some other field of effort but whatever their present vocation, they are journalists for an evening three or four times a year when they attend a Gridiron dinner and wish, perchance, that they were back in the old circle of good-fellowship.

The Club gives three "annual" dinners and a summer outing each year. On one of these occasions there will be present two hundred and fifty or more persons, the guests including the President and Vice President of the United States, members of the Cabinet, Justices of the Supreme Court, ambassadors and ministers from foreign countries, prominent members of Congress, high officers of the Army and Navy, and leading men in every other

walk of life. At no other similar occasion in America, and perhaps not in the world, is such a distinguished company ever gathered around one table.

Any one who is willing to pay the price may readily secure an epicurean meal, but, nowhere else in the world can money command such an entertainment as enlivens a Gridiron dinner, because the *mise en scène* and peculiar conditions are nowhere else to be found. Between the courses are sandwiched burlesques, skits, and jokes, relating to current topics of public interest and generally involving some of the prominent guests. The whole fanciful program which includes a number of comic songs composed for the occasion, is carefully prepared by the members beforehand and always displays a great deal of wit and cleverness.

At the time that Secretary Taft was talked of in connection with a seat on the Supreme Bench and was also contemplated as a probable presidential candidate, he attended a Gridiron dinner, when a mimic messenger boy handed him a pretended telegram at the table which ran as follows:

“Taft: Don’t commit yourself on the presidential question until you have seen me. Have been talking to Fuller. Brewer.” All three of the dignitaries mentioned were present and none enjoyed the pleasantry more than themselves.

When the country was swept by the Democratic

tidal wave of 1890, the result of the election naturally offered the principal peg upon which to hang the star features of the evening at the dinner that followed. It will be remembered that the contest for Speaker of the House in the ensuing Congress was an historic one. Upon the occasion in question, Representative Crisp, who was eventually the successful candidate, occupied a seat at the festive board of the Gridironers. When the President of the Club called upon Mr. Crisp, the members in chorus broke out with a parody on a well-known hymn, thus:

“I want to be a Speaker, and with the Speakers stand,
 A book of rules before me, a gavel in my hand,
 And when the caucus meets here, I'm going for to try
 To be elected Speaker, or know the reason why.”

Satire, the favorite medium for witticism as a rule, is tabooed at Gridiron dinners. A guest may find himself the object of the general merriment but the good humor and open-heartedness that pervade the gathering preclude any unpleasantness and soon relieve temporary embarrassment. Old-timers — and there are distinguished public men who have become chronic Gridiron diners — generally like to be singled out for a distinct share of the current persiflage and know that the recital of the fact in the morrow's paper will raise them in the estimation of their constituents more than would the report of a long speech delivered in Congress.

Many members of the Gridiron Club have been called upon to serve the country in the service of the Government. To cite a few of the most recent instances: A few years ago, Hon. Robert J. Wynne, who was president of the Club in 1902, received the appointment of First Assistant Postmaster General — a position which had been held by Hon. Perry Heath, another Gridiron member, in a preceding administration. Mr. Wynne later became Postmaster General. General Henry V. Boynton, now deceased, was president of the Chickamauga Commission, and had been one of the charter members of the Gridiron. Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland and the Hon. Henry L. West, members of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, have both been Presidents of the Club. Other members, who hold important positions under the Government are P. V. DeGraw, Francis E. Leupp, James Rankin Young, and John M. Carson.

CHAPTER XI.

SOCIAL LIFE IN THE CAPITAL.

WHEN the Government took up its seat in the District of Columbia, there were but two centers in the vicinity of the capital that could boast of a polite society. Those were Alexandria and Georgetown. There were besides, a few scattered mansions where a refined and elegant standard of living was maintained, such, for instance, as Mount Airy, near Bladensburg, Notley Hall, Duddington, and the residence of Thomas Law. The region was distinctly Southern and the customs were those of the old English colonial period. Sir Augustus Foster, an attaché of the British legation during Jefferson's presidency, says:

“There were a number of rich proprietors in the State of Maryland. In the district around Washington, I was assured there were five hundred persons possessing estates which returned them an income of one thousand pounds. Mr. Lloyd, a member of Congress on the Eastern Branch, possessed a net revenue of between six and seven thousand pounds, with which he had only to buy clothes for

himself and family, wines, equipage, furniture and other luxuries. Mr. Tayloe also whose whole income exceeded fifteen thousand pounds per annum, held three thousand acres which his father bought for five hundred pounds. He possessed five hundred slaves, built brigs and schooners, worked iron mines, converted the iron into ploughshares — and all this was done by the hands of his own subjects.”

Most of the members of Congress, he tells us, kept to their lodgings and lived in comparative seclusion, but there were not a few who cultivated the social virtues and whose families came to the capital for a season. Frequent balls were given at Georgetown and Sir Augustus, who may be presumed to have had some experience in the old world, declares that he never saw prettier girls anywhere. “As there were but few of them, however, in proportion to the great number of men who frequented the places of amusement in the Federal City, it is one of the most marrying places in the whole continent — a truth which was beginning to be found out and became by and by the cause of vast numbers flocking thither, all round from the four points of the compass. . . . Maugre the march of intellect so much vaunted in the present century, the literary education of these ladies is far from being worthy of the age of knowledge, and conversation is apt to flag, though a seat by the ladies is much coveted. Dancing and music served to eke out the

Statue of Rochambeau



time, but one got to be heartily sick of hearing the same song everywhere, even when it was, 'Just like Love is yonder Rose.' No matter how this was sung, the words alone were the man-traps; the belle of the evening was declared to be just like both — and people looked around as if the listener was expected to become on the instant very tender and to propose — and sometimes such a result does in reality take place; both parties when betrothed use a great deal of billing and cooing." He declares that some of the ladies "contract an aversion to water, and as a substitute, cover their faces and bosoms with hair-powder in order to render their skins pure and delicate."

"In going to assemblies one had sometimes to drive three or four miles within the city bounds, and very often at the great risk of an overturn, or of being what is termed 'stalled,' or stuck in the mud, when one can neither get backward nor forward, and either loses one's shoes or one's patience. . . . Cards were a great resource of an evening, and gaming was all the fashion, at brag, especially, for the men who frequented society were chiefly from Virginia, or the Western States, and were very fond of this, the most gambling of all games. . . . Loo was the innocent diversion of the ladies, who when they were 'loosed' pronounced the word in a very mincing manner. . . . Church service can certainly never be called an amusement;

but from the variety of persons who were allowed to preach in the House of Representatives, there doubtless was some alloy of curiosity in the motives which led one to go there. Though the regular chaplain was a Presbyterian, sometimes a Methodist, a minister of the Church of England, or a Quaker, and sometimes even a woman, took the Speaker's chair; and I do not think there was much devotion among the majority." But, withal, Sir Augustus formed the opinion that Washington was the most agreeable place of residence for a lengthy stay. "The opportunity of collecting information from Senators and Representatives from all parts of the country, the hospitality of the heads of the government and the corps diplomatique of itself supplied resources such as could nowhere else be looked for."

The newspapers of the time in Washington, of which the earliest was the *Times and Potowmack Packet*, started in 1789, give us interesting glimpses of the manners and customs of our forefathers and the condition of the country when it emerged from its successful struggle for liberty. The election of a sheriff in 1797, caused a great deal of excitement and an echo of the occasion is found in the obituary notice of "Mr. James Aull, another victim to the disorderly mode of election in this State." In September of the same year, the editor of the *Washington Gazette* makes an announcement, prompted

by his desire to induce immigration: "Any genteel family from either of the cities of Philadelphia or Baltimore may be accommodated with four convenient apartments in a good house and pleasant situation until the first of May next — GRATIS — and if a person in business, with a large store and cellar, suitable for dry goods and groceries — on reasonable terms — Apply to the printer."

About the same time, Miss Ann Vidler opens a day school for young ladies at Greenleaf's Point and undertakes to teach them "Reading, plain, open and tambour work," and a little later a French miniature painter makes the following announcement: "Major Vermonnet informs the Ladies and Gentlemen who are desirous of having their likenesses taken, that he will be happy in serving them, if they will honour him by calling at his house in the city, near Dr. Coningham's Brew-House."

The public is informed that Lewis Clephane will pay "half a cent reward, without thanks or charges," to whoever will return his runaway apprentice. David Burnes inserts the following card: "I hereby forewarn all persons from hunting with Dog or Gun, within my enclosures or along my shores; likewise, cutting down Timbers, Saplings, Bushes, or Wood of any kind, carrying off and burning Fence logs, any old wood on the shores, or in the woods. If I should find any person tresspassing as above; I will write to my attorney, and suits will

be commenced against the trespassers in the general Courts." It may be noticed that whilst the "Dog" comes in for a share of the liberal distribution of capitals in the foregoing, "my attorney" is not equally distinguished. In the next issue of the *Gazette* a curious citizen wishes to be informed where David Burnes's shores may be and "likewise where his own property lays, within his enclosures,"—this in evident allusion to the fact that the greater part of the property in question had been deeded to the Commissioners. Personal controversy carried on in the columns of the press was a common custom of the day. Greenleaf and Nicholson—much to the disgust of Morris—thus "aired their dirty linen" and injured themselves by the publicity given to their affairs.

The author of "The Freaks of Columbia" is "preparing for the press, a play in three acts entitled 'The Executor is the Heir at Law'" and will send it to press "so soon as five hundred persons have subscribed. It will be printed on good paper and with tolerably good type—Price to subscribers 37½ cents, payable at the time of subscribing." If it was ever published the copies have all disappeared.

During the times of Jefferson and Madison, the Tammany Society of Washington was an organization with numerous members. At one of its pow-wows, Sachem Smith delivered himself of the

following, after the flamboyant style of the period: "Gracious God! Are the scenes of La Vendee to be reacted in this country? Forbid it, ye shades of Washington, Franklin, Greene, Warren and Montgomery! I am at a loss for words to express my indignation at the conduct of these modern Catalines. 'Is there not some chosen curse, some hidden thunder in the stores of Heaven, red with uncommon wrath, to blast the man' who would raise himself to greatness 'or his country to ruin'?" Alas, for the decadence of oratory!

The first circulating library in the city was "opened this day (June 1, 1801) first door west of President's square, on Pennsylvania Avenue." That must have been where the Mills Building now stands. James Lyon was the enterprising individual who projected this public utility which was afterwards carried on by R. R. Dinmore. The same James Lyon published *The National Magazine*, "a political, biographical, historical and literary repository." It was mainly devoted to politics of a partisan character. The editor declares that the receipt of sixty-six subscriptions from the State of Connecticut, leads us into a region of wonders. "This is the State that sends to Congress seven of the most bullying, servile sattelites (sic) that tremble at the Nod of John Adams or lick the dust at the feet of Robert Linton; this is the State which gives to the Senate a Tracey, who wished to

wage a war of 'EXTINGUISHMENT'! to 'arm every man, woman and child in the Union, against every man, woman and child in France,' yet this State has already produced to me 66 subscribers — This looks as if the people of Connecticut were beginning to think for themselves."

Warden, who wrote in 1816, found "the inhabitants of the District of Columbia social and hospitable. At Washington respectable strangers, after the slightest introduction, are," he says, "invited to dinner, tea, balls, and evening parties. Those at the house of the President of the United States united simplicity with the greatest refinement of manners. Tea parties have become very expensive, as not only tea, but coffee, negus, cakes, sweetmeats, iced-creams, wines and liquors are often presented; and on a sultry summer evening, are found too palatable to be refused. In winter there is a succession of family balls, where all the species of luxury is exhibited. In the territory of Columbia women have no reason to complain of the degradation to which they are exposed by the tyrant man. Free and innocent, they go where they please, both before and after marriage, and have no need to have recourse to dissimulation and cunning for their own repose and that of their husbands."

Warden mentions a number of "peculiar customs," of which the following are some: "Both sexes, whether on horseback or on foot, wear an um-

brella in all seasons; in summer, to keep off the sunbeams, in winter as a shelter from the rain and snow; in spring and autumn, to intercept the dews of the evening. Persons of all ranks canter their horses, which movement fatigues the animal, and has an ungraceful appearance. Gentlemen wear the hat in a carriage with a lady as in England.

“At dinner, and tea parties, the ladies sit together, and seldom mix with the gentlemen, whose conversation naturally turns on political subjects. In almost all houses, toddy is offered to guests a few minutes before dinner. In summer, invitation to tea parties is made verbally by a servant, the same day the party is given. In winter, the invitation is more ceremonious.

“Boarders in boarding-houses, or in taverns, sometimes throw off the coat during the heat of summer; and in winter, the shoes, for the purpose of warming the feet at the fire — customs which the climate can only excuse.

“Any particular attention to a lady is readily construed into an intention of marriage.

“The barber arrives on horseback to perform the operation of shaving; and here, as in Europe, he is the organ of all news and scandal.”

In the first half century of Washington's existence, it contained very few hotels but a multiplicity of boarding-houses. Members of Congress, with few exceptions, made their homes at these places,

where they formed messes and roomed two or three together. Jefferson was lodging thus near the Capitol at the time of his inauguration and walked from his boarding-house to the Senate Chamber, returning to his accustomed place for dinner after the ceremony. The Justices of the Supreme Court lodged and messed together in similar fashion in the early years, at a house kept by Mrs. R. Dunn, near the Capitol. As late as 1842, they resided in one house "for the greater convenience of consultation."

The race-course was one of the earliest and most popular institutions of the city. Doctor Cutler thus describes it in 1803: "The race ground is an old field with somewhat of a rising in the center. The race path is made about fifty feet wide, measuring just one mile from the bench of the judges round to the stage again. In the center of this circle a prodigious number of booths are erected, which stand upon the highest part of the ground. Under them are tables spread much like the booths at commencement (at Cambridge), but on the top, for they are all built of boards on platforms to accommodate spectators. At the time of the racing these are filled with people of all descriptions. On the western side and without the circle is rising ground, where the carriages of the most respectable people take their stand. These, if they were not all Democrats, I should call the *noblesse*. Their

carriages are elegant, and their attendants and servants numerous. They are from different parts of the Southern and Middle States, and filled principally with ladies, and about one hundred in number. . . . While the horses were running, the whole ground within the circle was spread over with people on horseback stretching round full speed to different parts of the circle to see the race. This was a striking part of the show, for it was supposed there were about 800 on horseback, and many of them mounted on excellent horses. There were about 200 carriages and between 3,000 and 4,000 people — black, and white, and yellow; of all conditions from the President of the United States to the beggar in his rags; of all ages, and of both sexes, for I should judge one-third were females.”

In January, 1824, Mrs. Adams gave the famous ball, at her residence, 1333 F Street, in honor of “the hero of New Orleans.” An Englishman, named Agge, wrote some clever verses on the occasion, the following being one of them:

“Wend you with the world to-night?
 East and West, South and North,
 Form a constellation bright
 And pour a blended brilliance forth;
 See the tide of fashion flowing,
 ’Tis the noon of beauty’s reign —
 Webster, Hamilton are going,
 Eastern Lloyd and Southern Hayne
 Western Thomas, gayly smiling,
 Boaland, nature’s protégé,

Young De Wolf, all hearts beguiling,
Morgan, Benton, Brown and Lee,
Belles and matrons, maids and madames,
All are gone to Mrs. Adams'."

The ball costume of the ladies of that period is described as with "skirts of five breadths, a quarter of a yard each, of the favorite Indian crape, coquettishly short for the freer display of the slipper and silk stocking, matching the color of the gown, and fastened with ribbons crossed over the ankle and instep. The low baby waist, ingenious and frank, came to an end abruptly under the arms, which were covered with gloves so fine that they were sometimes stowed cunningly in the shell of an English walnut. The hair, dressed high, was crowned with a comb of tortoise shell; white turban and ostrich feathers were the peculiar ensigns of wives and matrons."

Josiah Quincy, in his reminiscences of this time, says "the evening parties were the social features, at which everybody appeared who occupied the necessary social position." Guests arrived promptly at eight and left at eleven o'clock, "having enjoyed the recreation of dancing, card-playing, music and conversation." The first entertainment of the sort which he attended was one given by Mrs. Wirt and to which he was taken by Daniel Webster. He was much impressed by the daughter of the house and by the "pretty, learned, and agreeable Mrs. Hoff-

man, of Baltimore." But all were surpassed by Mrs. Florida White "whose beauty was the admiration of Washington."

He describes a function given by Mrs. Johnston, of Louisiana, in February, 1826, where was "found a crowd in comparison with which all other crowds that I have experienced sunk into nothing. . . . As there was no dancing, I contented myself with moving in the current around the room, first conducting Mrs. Florida White, and afterwards Mrs. David Hoffman. By the latter lady I was introduced to Miss Cora Livingstone, and I must be able to paint the rose to describe a lady who is undoubtedly the greatest belle in the United States. In the first place, she is not handsome; I mean not transcendantly handsome. She has a fine figure, a pretty face, dances well, and dresses to admiration. It is the height of the *ton* to be her admirer, and she is certainly the belle of the country."

Mr. Quincy was a guest at a number of brilliant balls given at the different legations, where his impressible temperament was successively stirred by contact with Miss Catharine Van Rensselaer, of Albany, Miss Morpin, of Kentucky, Miss Tayloe, of Washington, and other beauties. He attended a number of dinners, too, one of the most pleasant being that which "took place at Miss Hyer's boarding-house, given by the gentlemen lodgers, who, by a small subscription, added a few dishes to the ordi-

nary bill of fare." In this connection, he remarks, "that the use of wine and spirits was practically universal. . . . Nobody thought it possible to dine without one or the other. At the boarding-houses and hotels every guest had his bottle or his interest in a bottle." In fact, in many such places liquor was included in the price of entertainment and most hotels had bottles on the table for the free use of the guests.

Twice the narrator "dined at the White House; the first time with Charles King and Albert Gallatin." The occasion was enlivened by the "amusing utterances of the President and Mr. King, who talked as if they were under bonds to furnish entertainment for the party." The other affair was "a state dinner of forty ladies and gentlemen, very splendid and rather stiff." Only the presence by his side of the pretty Miss Bullett, of Kentucky, relieved "the icy monotony of that solemn dinner of high state."

At a public ball at Carusi's, Quincy "saw the waltz introduced into society for the first time. The conspicuous performer was Baron Stackelburg, who whirled through the mazes with a huge pair of dragoon spurs bound to his heels. The danger of interfering with the other dancers, which seemed always imminent, was skilfully avoided by the Baron, who received a murmur of appreciative applause as he led his partner to her seat."

Could the Baron have been the "foreign diplomat, recognized as a leader of society," who created a sensation in the year memorable for the introduction of the waltz, by appearing upon Pennsylvania Avenue mounted on a velocipede, newly imported from London. "People assembled *en masse* in eager expectation, along the way, under the scraggy poplars that bordered the broad highway, to witness the exhibition, and gazed in amazement at the dignified struggles of a gentleman in high life straddling a pommeled saddle between two wheels, and pushing himself along over the uneven surface of the dirt roadway, first with one foot, and then with the other, pressing against the earth, so that as the front foot tipped the ground alongside of the front axle the toes of the hind foot left their print alongside of the hind axle. He held the handle bars with firm grasp of both hands, and with head erect looked straight to the front from the eye sockets. He was dressed in knee breeches, with buckles and pumps, dress coat, ruffled shirt and a high silk hat pressed closely down to his ears. In profile the gallant velocipedist exhibited a picturesque personation of an amateur athlete standing on tiptoe astraddle two wheels on parade before a multitude gaping with surprise and wonderment."

In the thirties, dinner parties were favorite forms of entertainment. They were, we are told, "very much alike, and those who were in succession guests

at different houses often saw the same table ornaments, and were served by the same waiters, while the fare was prepared by the same cook. The guests were wont to assemble in the parlor, which was almost invariably connected with the dining-room by large folding doors. When the dinner was ready the folding doors were thrown open and the table was revealed, covered with dishes and cut-glass ware. Soup was invariably served, followed by boiled fish, overdone roast beef or mutton, roast fowl or game in season, and a great variety of puddings, pies, cakes and ice-cream. The fish, meat, and fowl were carved and helped by the host, while the lady of the house distributed vegetables, the pickles and dessert. Champagne, without ice, was sparingly supplied in long, slender glasses, but there was no lack of sound claret, and with the dessert several bottles of old madeira were generally produced by the host, who succinctly gave the age and history of each.

“At the evening parties the carpet was lifted from the room set apart for dancing, and the floor was chalked with colors to protect the dancers from slipping. The music was almost invariably a first and second violin, with flute and harp accompaniments. Light refreshments, such as water-ice, lemonade, negus, and small cakes, were handed about on waiters between every two or three dances. The crowning glory, however, of the entertainment was

the supper, which had been prepared under the supervision of the hostess, aided by some of her intimate friends who had loaned their china and silverware. The table was covered with *à la mode* beef, cold roast turkey, ducks, and chickens; fried and stewed oysters, blanc-mange, jellies, whips, floating islands, candied oranges, and numerous varieties of tarts and cakes. Very often the young men, after having escorted the young ladies to their respective homes, would meet again at some oyster-house to go on a lark, in imitation of the young English bloods in the favorite parts of 'Tom and Jerry.' Singing, or rather shouting popular songs, they would break windows, wrench off knockers, call up doctors, and transpose sign-boards; nor was there a night-watchman to interfere with their roistering."

A British Minister to Washington at the period just preceding the Civil War, has left a picture of society at the capital as he found it. He tells us that "winter time is the season of gaiety at Washington, and well the Americans economize every moment. They wisely prefer seeing their friends, to being merely acquainted with the outside of their doors, as so frequently happens in London. Instead, therefore, of packs of cards being exchanged — most fruitless folly, — each lady proclaims to her acquaintances which day of the week she will receive from twelve to four, and in

that way has the pleasure, not only of really meeting her friends weekly, but also has the option of six days to herself unmolested by visitors.

“To give an idea of the working of this system — Monday, all the government ministers’ wives receive; Tuesday, all the senators’ wives; Wednesday, the houses of the diplomats are thrown open; Thursday, the judges’ wives entertain; and so on from one week’s end to another, all the winter. In this way those who wish can pay eight or ten visits a day in proportion to the time they wish to kill.

“Let me briefly describe a morning reception in the height of the season: At the door stands the lady of the house, resplendent in the last ultra-French fashions, ready with a compliment for every newcomer, who must return the same, both capital and interest, and besides assuring her she looks ‘quite lovely,’ must titillate her vanity by insinuating how superior her reception is to the eight or ten he has already visited. . . . The visitor, having discharged his volley of pretty nothings, then rushes boldly into the busy talking throng, which gives the salon the appearance of an auction-room, as the talkers seldom sit down. Such a buzz as there is, such significant little groups, canvassing with the utmost volubility and vehemence the current topics of the day, the last duel murder, row

in the House of Representatives, or savage onslaught in the Senate.

"The young ladies generally cluster round the inevitable refreshment table, and, while distributing broiled oysters, chocolate cakes, and wine, keep at least six or eight beaux each in full talk. Sometimes, in the largest houses — such as that of the late Senator Douglas — the shutters would be shut, the gas lighted, the musicians summoned, and a dance got up, which would last with unflagging energy till six in the evening, when the exhausted dancers found a ball-supper prepared to revive them.

"But there is one entertainment which can be seen nowhere else — a Presidential Reception. Such a motley crew throng in at the door,— rowdies, cab-drivers, belles, beaux; diplomats, like the new discovered fossil, half golden-scaled lizard, half-crested bird; last, not least, a troop of Red Indians in war paint, with their best necklaces of bears' claws, come to do honor to the great father. Having first shaken hands with the President, who stood in the center of a large salon, we waited to watch the behavior of the crowd. One and all insisted on vigorously shaking the poor President's hand, holding up afterwards their dirty brats to be kissed. The next day the President had rheumatism in his arm, and no wonder."

Naturally enough, the society of Washington was disrupted by the War and for a decade following 1860, it remained in a more or less chaotic condition. A writer in the *Atlantic* thus described the population of the capital at the time it was a camp: "If the beggars of Dublin, the cripples of Constantinople, and the lepers of Damascus should assemble in Baden-Baden during a Congress of Kings, then Baden-Baden would resemble Washington, Presidents, Senators, Honorables, Judges, Generals, Commodores, Governors, and the Exs of all these, congregate here as thick as pickpockets at a horse race, or women at a wedding in church. Add Ambassadors, Plenipotentiaries, Lords, Counts, Barons, Chevaliers, the great and small fry of the Legations, Captains, Lieutenants, Claim-Agents, Negroes, Perpetual-Motion-Men, Fire-Eaters, Irishmen, Plug-Uglies, Hoosiers, Gamblers, Californians, Mexicans, Japanese, Indians, and Organ-Grinders, together with females to match all varieties of males, and you have a vague notion of the people of Washington."

After the close of the War, Washington was relieved of the worst elements of the heterogeneous floating population that had gathered at the seat of the conflict with motives as mixed as its composition. There were many, however, who remained and many more who were attracted to the capital at this time, so that its population more than

doubled in a decade. When society resumed its sway, it presented anything but an attractive aspect. There were too many *nouveaux riches*, some of them with questionably-acquired fortunes. There was a tendency to display and extravagance that did not escape downright vulgarity. The profusion and exuberance were, however, due in large measure to the joy of regained peace and the intoxication of success. Whatever the cause, its effect soon passed away and the social life of Washington assumed the serene dignity and sane enjoyment of pleasure that has ever since characterized it.

The people of Washington differ in several respects from those of any other large city of the country. The nearest resemblance — and that is not close — is to be found in the population of one of our university towns. The men one passes on the streets of the capital are a distinct type. They are well dressed, well fed and not overworked. They look, and are, unusually intelligent, for the center of government draws to it the best brains of the country. There is none of the care-worn stream of humanity that flows through Broadway, or State Street, to be seen on Pennsylvania Avenue. There are thousands of hard workers in Washington but things are so ordered that all, with the possible exception of the very highest, get a reasonable amount of leisure. Nowhere in this country can the man of intellect so readily find congenial

associations; nowhere can the man of refined tastes find so agreeable an atmosphere.

About twenty years ago, persons of wealth and fashion began to find Washington an attractive place for a short sojourn in the winter months and gradually they learned that it afforded a most pleasant abode for the entire season. With that, one millionaire after another followed the example of Mr. Leiter and erected a mansion at the capital. Rich senators, too, built liberally and entertained extensively. The legations, beginning with that of the British on Connecticut Avenue, commenced to house themselves in palatial style. Even foreigners followed suit, and several of them now have winter residences at our capital. Thus, during the past decade Washington society has become truly national and at the same time somewhat cosmopolitan in character.

There are in Washington certain, more or less, exclusive circles as there are in every large city, but nowhere is personal merit better appreciated, or more readily recognized. To the man of talent or social brilliancy, doors open more easily than they would elsewhere, and the size of his bank account is of less consideration. What is said of men, applies with greater force to the other sex. A clever, agreeable woman will find the social path much smoother at the capital than in New York or Philadelphia, and many a commonplace man

owes his success to the social qualities possessed by his wife.

There are something like a score of social clubs in Washington, of which the principal are the Metropolitan and the Cosmos. The former, which is now building a fine new home for itself, is composed mainly of high government officials, members of the diplomatic corps and officers of the Army and Navy. It has a membership of about six hundred.

The Cosmos Club is located in the old Dolly Madison mansion and two adjoining houses. Its membership is drawn from men who have distinguished themselves in science, literature, or art, and embraces a greater aggregation of intellect than any similar institution in the country.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SUBURBS OF WASHINGTON.

It may not be improper to include Georgetown in a review of the suburbs of Washington for the old Maryland town was not incorporated with the city until 1871, and even now is sharply distinguished from the original capital by physical boundaries and general appearance.

Georgetown was laid out, by authority of the Maryland Assembly, in 1751, and soon became the commercial and social center of that part of the State, for the outlying landowners frequently resorted there for business and pleasure. It was a thriving port, to which vessels brought the luxuries craved by the colonists and returned laden with their produce, principally tobacco. During the Revolutionary War, Georgetown was a depot for military supplies and the troops of both armies marched through its streets and encamped upon the neighboring heights. Before and after this time George Washington frequently visited the place, where he had relatives.

Georgetown was included in the "ten miles

square" and some of its citizens would seem to have entertained a desire to be taken into the original city, for we find Washington writing to the Commissioners in 1791, as follows: "It having been indicated to me that the proprietors of Georgetown are desirous of being comprehended within the limits of the Federal City, I see no objection to the measure, provided the landholders . . . agree to cede to the public on the same terms with those under the last, etc." The proposal fell through, and could hardly have had the approval of the old families who, for a considerable period thereafter, looked down upon the infant capital and its people. At that early period and for some years after the removal of the Government, the Maryland town offered comforts and conveniences altogether superior to any obtainable at the capital and many members of Congress and officials took up a temporary residence there, whilst visitors to Washington generally lodged at Suter's, the Fountain, or some other of the several taverns in the town. The passage from one place to the other involved a considerable journey, through a tract almost devoid of habitations and over a road which excited the execration of many a traveler. Several of the foreign diplomats made their homes on the heights above Georgetown which, with its population of six thousand, completely over-shadowed Washington as an urban center. At the opening

of the century, Tom Moore, Aaron Burr, Gilbert Stuart, Tom Paine, Baron Humboldt, Barlow and many other notable persons, were familiar figures in the drawing rooms of the quaint burgh. It has not changed greatly. Many of its old stone houses stand to-day as they did then, reminders of the happy colonial days.

Washington had thought to extend the "Grand Avenue" to Georgetown with a terminal bridge above "grand navigation," and so to unite with Washington the fortunes of the thriving rival of "Baltimore Town." Thus would have been secured the nucleus of the great "commercial emporium" that he believed the capital destined to become. However, the construction of the Long Bridge and the Analostan Causeway put a quietus upon Georgetown's aspirations. At that time the port received large consignments of goods from England, consisting mainly of hardware, fabrics, wines, and tea. In exchange for these, it exported tobacco, furs, and Indian goods. The shipments to Great Britain in 1794, amounted in value to about one hundred and thirty thousand dollars, a very considerable export for the times. Large quantities of sugar, molasses and rum were also received from the West Indies. These imports were distributed among the farmers of Maryland, Virginia, and Pennsylvania, by means of river craft and Conestoga wagon transports, which

brought to Georgetown the products of the farm.

An old resident — Mr. Thomas W. Riley,— writing some twenty years ago said: “In my boyhood days there was a great deal of business done in what were known as arks by those living on the upper Potomac. They had no other way to bring their wheat, corn, oats, hay, and other products to market. These arks were large wooden floats, put together in a substantial, though inexpensive manner with wooden bolts and pins. They carried a great deal. These arks were floated by the current. On their arrival in Georgetown, after their contents were sold, the arks were taken to pieces and the lumber sold. I have seen hundreds of them. This was before the opening of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. People nowadays talk about push and enterprise as if it was a new invention and they the only discoverers of it. Though I have always tried to keep up with the procession in a business way, I assure you I have seen evidences of a ‘get there’ spirit among the grandfathers of some of the business men of to-day that surpassed much of their so-called push. These ark-owners had goods to sell, and, though they did not come with lightning speed, they got to market just the same.”

The Potomac River is not navigable above the Little Falls, which has a drop of thirty-seven feet. At the Great Falls the descent is over seventy-six

feet. Between these points the river is in many places shallow and rock-strewn, so that a boat attempting the passage could hardly escape destruction. The Potomac Canal Company constructed, at heavy cost, canals and locks around these falls, widened and deepened the smaller channels around the islands which were free from rocks, and in other places, where practicable, dug canals across curves and around the rocky and shallow rapids. In such manner an uncertain and dangerous waterway was secured for navigation by flat-bottomed scows, gondolas, arks, and what not, steered and propelled by oars and poles. Notwithstanding the danger and frequent loss of cargo, the tonnage that was carried in this precarious manner amounted to a great deal in the course of a year.

During the year 1812, several hundred hogsheads of Louisiana sugar were brought by way of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Potomac rivers to Georgetown. This was a realization of Washington's idea that the city which he founded would become an entrepôt for the products of the Mississippi Valley destined for shipment abroad. He displayed his faith in this belief by the purchase of wharf-lots which would hardly bring to-day what he paid for them.

Georgetown, "the original seat of the Catholic power in this country," is now noted chiefly for its University, founded by the Jesuit Fathers and con-

tinuously maintained as a seat of the highest learning.

Of Mount Vernon, the first President's home, Edward Everett has said: "While it stands, the latest generations of the grateful children of America will make this pilgrimage to it as to a shrine; and when it shall fall, if fall it must, the memory and the name of Washington shall shed an eternal glory on the spot." True it is that every visitor to the nation's capital rightly considers it a sacred duty to pay homage, at his former home, to the memory of the man who made the nation possible.

At the close of a speech delivered in the Senate, early in 1850, and having for its object the "peace, concord, and harmony of the Union, and a settlement of the questions relating to slavery," Henry Clay made the following statement: "A man came to my room—the same at whose instance, a few days ago, I presented a memorial calling upon Congress for the purchase of Mount Vernon for the use of the public,—and without being aware of what purpose I entertained in the discharge of my public duty to-day, he said to me: 'Mr. Clay, I heard you make a remark the other day, which induces me to suppose that a precious relic in my possession would be acceptable to you.' He then drew from his pocket, and presented to me, the

object which I now hold in my hand. And what, Mr. President, do you suppose it is? It is a fragment of the coffin of Washington — a fragment of that coffin in which now repose, in silence, in sleep, and speechless, all the earthly remains of the venerable Father of his Country. . . . Sir, I hope an impression may be made on your mind such as that which was made on mine by the reception of this precious relic.”

The estate was not purchased by Congress and when, in 1855, John A. Washington, being in straightened circumstances, offered it publicly for sale, there was grave danger of its being for ever lost to the country. At this juncture, a patriotic woman — Ann Pamela Cunningham, of South Carolina,— essayed the formidable task of raising the two hundred thousand dollars necessary to the purchase of the place. In 1858, Miss Cunningham, who had been working assiduously meanwhile, succeeded in organizing the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association and attracting to the support of its object earnest devotees of both sexes in all parts of the country. Money poured in from every quarter in sums varying from the five-cent contributions of school-children to the splendid donation of sixty-nine thousand dollars made by Edward Everett. Sufficient was realized before the close of 1859, not only to secure Mount Vernon, but also to provide for its permanent care and to

buy back some portions of the estate that had been alienated and to restore others that had suffered from neglect.

The leader in this patriotic movement and her co-laborers have never received sufficient credit for their noble work. The writer has met more than one intelligent American at Washington who entertained the delusion that Mount Vernon was secured to the nation by the action of Congress and the expenditure of public moneys.

Mount Vernon lies on the western shore of the Potomac, in Fairfax County, Virginia, and about sixteen miles from Washington, with which it is now connected by a railroad. The mansion occupies a commanding situation upon the brow of a hill overlooking the stream, towards which a broad lawn extends. The estate in Washington's time comprised eight thousand acres. Half of it, or more, was woodland, some of which still surrounds the house. The other portion was divided into five farms, worked by hundreds of negro slaves. Each of these units was devoted to a special crop, and was managed by an overseer. Large shipments were made from the wharf on the premises and the brand of "George Washington, Mount Vernon," was widely known.

After the death of the first President, most of the land was sold by the heirs, leaving little but the two hundred acres of the home farm, or the

“mansion house farm,” as it was called. The house, which stands in about ten acres of lawn, dotted with shade trees, is a wooden structure designed to resemble stone. It has two stories and an attic and is surmounted by a cupola. Along its entire length runs a piazza, paved with stones. The main hall extends from the front to the back of the dwelling and there are six rooms on the ground floor.

In the neighborhood of the mansion are the old brick “cook-house,” in which the meals for the family were prepared, the butler’s house and the servants’ quarters. Nearby, upon the sloping ground to the south, is the old family tomb, in which the body of Washington lay for thirty years, until removed with those of his wife and other members of the family to a new vault.

The first owner of the estate, which was originally named “Hunting Creek,” was Lawrence, the half-brother of George Washington. He built the central portion of the mansion and some of the outbuildings and changed the name of the place to “Mount Vernon” in remembrance of Admiral Edward Vernon of the British Navy, under whom he had fought against the Spaniards in the West Indies. On the death of Lawrence Washington and his daughter, the estate reverted to George Washington who took up his residence there shortly after his marriage and entered zealously into the pursuit

of farming. After the close of the war, he added extensions to the house at either end, refurnished all its rooms, erected new outhouses and effected a general improvement of the place. Here, following his retirement from the presidency, he enjoyed the dignified and easy life of a country gentleman and here he died and was buried.

Alexandria was chartered as a municipality in 1749, and during the youth of Washington was the most considerable town in that part of Virginia. His early life is closely associated with the place and he was a familiar figure upon the streets. It was at the Carlyle House, whose owner was his life-long friend, that he received his first commission as a regular officer in the British Army. "Early in April, 1755, General Braddock and Admiral Keppel held a conference with the executive representatives of various colonies concerning plans for the proposed hostilities of the English against the French and Indian allies along the Ohio and St. Lawrence Rivers. To meet this honorable council and give them the benefit of his knowledge of Indian warfare, Washington, then a major in the Virginia militia, was summoned from Mount Vernon. Despite the marked impression made upon the council by the young soldier's wise and moderate opinions, Braddock declined to act upon Washington's advice as

to the best method of dealing with the Indians, and the expedition against Fort Duquesne, from which Washington did not withhold his own services as an aide on the commander's staff, setting forth within the ensuing week, inaugurated the disastrous campaign which ended shortly in the fierce battle of the Monongahela, when Braddock fell and was buried near the field."

Washington frequently came to Alexandria on business and as often to meet friends at the City Hotel or the old Market Court, where local news and the political affairs of the day were discussed. He was a regular attendant of Christ Church and the pew occupied by him, as well as that of Robert E. Lee, are carefully preserved.

A portion of the naval force that operated against Washington, in 1814, made an attack upon Alexandria which, being defenceless after the abandonment of Fort Washington, capitulated and saw the enemy capture and take away seventy, or more, vessels laden with valuable merchandise.

It was during the brief stoppage of the steamboat at Alexandria during President Jackson's journey to Frederick, that he was assaulted by Lieutenant R. B. Randolph. The officer entered the President's cabin, drawing off his glove as he advanced. The President, altogether misinterpreting the action, extended his hand, saying: "Never mind your glove, sir." Randolph then thrust his

Arlington



open palm into the General's face, crying: "I came to pull your nose, sir!" Before the assailant could carry out his threat, he was seized and pushed out upon the deck. Thence he made his way ashore, stopped at a tavern "to take a drink," and passed on beyond the District line unmolested.

Randolph was probably a victim of one of Jackson's many high-handed proceedings. After the suicide of Purser Timberlake, the first husband of "Peggy" O'Neil, Randolph had been detailed to take his place temporarily. He had found the accounts of the office incomplete and the funds short and so reported to his superiors. A court-martial exonerated him from all blame and inferentially laid the embezzlement at the door of Timberlake, the suicide. Jackson, however, arbitrarily reversed the finding of the court and dismissed Randolph from the service.

Washington's somewhat strained action in extending the lines of the district into Virginia, contrary to the original intention of Congress, was attributed, amongst other supposed motives, to a desire to include within the territory Arlington, the property of George Washington Parke Custis, his grandson by marriage. It was even thought that he at one time contemplated the location of the principal portion of the city and the Capitol on the west side of the river, a contingency which was

effectually prevented by the later prohibition of Congress.

The Custises ranked with the Carrolls and Calverts as the three oldest and most distinguished families in the part of the country from which the District was partitioned. Major-General John Custis appears in colonial history as an official under a commission issued in 1687 by Lord Howard of Effingham, His Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia. His grandson, the Honorable John Custis, made alliance with another notable family when he married Frances, the daughter of Daniel Parke. From this union, which proved a most unhappy one, sprang two children, Daniel and Fanny Parke Custis. The former married Martha Dandridge and died at an early age, leaving a widow and two children, John Parke and Martha Parke Custis.

On a bronze tablet affixed to the right-hand wall of the main hall of Arlington House is the following inscription, which recounts succinctly the history of the "Arlington House Estate."

The lands comprising the estate or property are a part of an original grant of 6,000 acres from William Berkley, (sic) Governor of Virginia, to Robert Howsen in October, 1669, in consideration of the said Howsen having transported a number of settlers into the colony. In the same year Howsen conveyed these lands to John Alexander, the consideration being 6 hogsheads of tobacco, and on December 25, 1778, Gerald Alexander, to whom the property had de-

scended, conveyed the Arlington Tract, about 1,100 acres, to John Parke Custis, the consideration being 1,100 pounds in Virginia currency.

John Parke Custis was the son of Martha Washington by her first marriage. He was aide-de-camp to Washington during the Revolution, and upon his death, November 5, 1781, of camp fever, contracted at Yorktown, Washington adopted his two youngest children, George Washington Parke Custis and Eleanor Parke Custis. George Washington Parke Custis, who inherited the Arlington estate from his father, was a member of Washington's family until the death of Washington, in 1799, and soon after removed to Arlington, where he resided until his death, October 10, 1857. By his will, bearing date of March 26, 1855, he devised the "Arlington House Estate" to his daughter and only child Mary Ann Randolph Lee, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert E. Lee, United States Army, for her use and benefit during her natural life, and on her death to his eldest grandson, George Washington Custis Lee, to him and his heirs forever.

By an executive order by the President of the United States dated January 6, 1864, the entire tract of eleven hundred acres, more or less, was "selected for government use for war, military, charitable, and educational purposes," under the provision of the Acts of Congress of July 7, 1862,

and February 6, 1863. By the same order it was directed that the property should be sold to meet the payment of \$92.07 direct taxes due thereon. This was done January 11, 1864, and the property was bid in for the United States for the sum of \$26,800. Mrs. Lee having died in 1873, legal proceedings contesting the legality of the tax sales were instituted by George Washington Custis Lee, an heir under the will of his grandfather, George Washington Parke Custis. The case was heard in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Virginia, and verdict rendered in his favor, which, upon appeal, was affirmed upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, December 4, 1882.

Congress, by Act of March 3, 1883, appropriated the sum of \$150,000 for the purchase of this property, and on March 31, 1883, George Washington Custis Lee conveyed to the United States by deed the title to the property in question for the sum appropriated.

By an order of the Secretary of War dated June 15, 1864, the Arlington Mansion and the grounds surrounding it, not exceeding two hundred acres, were appropriated for a military cemetery. . . . The boundaries of this original plot have been extended by orders of the Secretary of War to the southern boundary of the estate, the actual area

now inclosed and constituting the National Cemetery is four hundred and one-third acres.

The estate was named "Arlington" by John Parke Custis, the adopted son of Washington. During his tenancy he improved it out of all recognition of the condition in which he found it. It had then consisted mainly of forest, with a few hundred acres of imperfectly cleared land, lying below the hills. The mansion-house was a small and unpretentious dwelling erected by the Alexanders upon the bank of what was then called Little River, at a distance of about a mile to the east of the present structure. The erection of Arlington House was begun in 1804, but not completed until eight years later. Writers have frequently stated that it is modeled after the Temple of Theseus at Athens, but the tablet on the house states that it is patterned on the "Temple of Paestum near Naples." It was considered the finest example of the residence of a landed gentleman in the State of Virginia, if not in the whole country. The main buildings have been preserved in a condition nearly that of their original appearance.

It has here that John Parke Custis played a leading part in the social life of the neighborhood and entertained with lavish hospitality. "The old Revolutionary heroes were welcome guests at his

board, whilst the distinguished men of a succeeding generation delighted in visiting the hospitable farmer." He was keenly interested in agriculture and stock raising and sought to promote those interests in various ways. He held "an annual fête," at his own expense and invited the neighboring farmers to take part in it by exhibiting "their sheep, cattle, and best products of the loom, and to dine with him under a range of tents, one of which belonged to the illustrious Washington," who was always highly extolled in the speeches that formed the closing feature of these occasions. There was a liberal distribution of liquid refreshments and "prizes were awarded by Mr. Custis to those bringing, for purposes of exhibition, the finest specimens of sheep," in the improvement of which he took special interest.

There is no more beautiful spot near Washington than Arlington. Lafayette pronounced the prospect from the porch of the house to be the most magnificent he had ever beheld. To-day the panorama stretched before the observer from the same point is even more delightful and imposing. The Potomac flows below at a distance of two hundred feet and on its farther side lie Washington and Georgetown backed by the encircling hills. Viewed on a clear day, the picture is one that can hardly be surpassed for stately loveliness by any in the world.

Vista from Arlington



On the level plateau that lies towards Fort Meyer, is laid out the city of the dead. A suburb occupies a space below the hill near the Ord and Weitzel gate and yet another the slope east of the mansion. Many thousands of soldiers — sixteen thousand that fell in the Civil War alone — lie buried here, reminders of our successive sacrifices in the cause of freedom from the Revolutionary War to that with Spain. Acres of ground are covered with the small square head-stones, running in orderly ranks, a few words on each sufficing for the name of the tenant and the State to which he belonged. A more imposing monument of enduring granite stands to the memory of the unknown dead, upon its face these words:

BENEATH THIS STONE
 REPOSE THE BONES OF TWO THOUSAND ONE
 HUNDRED AND ELEVEN UNKNOWN SOLDIERS
 GATHERED AFTER THE WAR
 FROM THE FIELDS OF BULL RUN AND THE ROUTE
 TO THE RAPPAHANNOCK
 THEIR REMAINS COULD NOT BE IDENTIFIED BUT
 THEIR NAMES AND DEATHS ARE
 RECORDED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THEIR COUNTRY
 AND ITS GRATEFUL CITIZENS
 HONOR THEM AS OF THEIR NOBLE ARMY OF
 MARTYRS. MAY THEY REST IN PEACE.
 SEPTEMBER, A. D. 1866.

When the Government came to Washington, Bladensburg was a thriving port, shipping more tobacco than any other town in Maryland with

the possible exception of Georgetown. Vessels from distant points came up the Anacostia to its wharves and, lying, as it did, on a main road, travelers frequently stopped at its taverns. A short distance from the town stood Mount Airy, the home of the Calverts, in an extensive and rich plantation. Here George Calvert, descendant of the Lords of Baltimore, lived in princely style and dispensed a liberal hospitality.

Those were the halcyon days, but with the introduction of the railroad Bladensburg waned, its river was neglected, and it failed to find substitutes for its old-time industries, so that it has been long since no more than a village in decay. Now it is a favorite drive from Washington and visitors go out occasionally to see the old battle-field and the duelling ground. "At this day Bladensburg is in essentials the same village it was when Decatur and Barron fought here on a morning in March, 1820 — a roadside village of three or four hundred people at a crossing of the East Branch of the Potomac, five miles from the Capitol at Washington. Its principal street stretches along a flat floor of sand, thirsty, like its citizens, and is, at both ends, stopped by a ford and bridge; for the branch makes a turn round the bottom of the village and shoots off a creek round the top of it. The main turnpike street, therefore, on which our old duelists' tavern stands, midway between the

Bladensburg



fords — is a good deal like a village built upon a sand bar or river beach. The back yards of those houses which keep the same side with the tavern go flatly back to the river. The yards of houses across the street scramble up at a small degree. Behind these latter houses is another broken street, parallel to the first, and both of them at the bottom of the town lead into a street at right angles, which passes the branch by a bridge one way, and the other way leads back through the hills into the Chesapeake Necks of Maryland. It was by this last road that the British came from their ship at Benedict to burn Washington. There are hills on that side of the town, and behind them the British formed. Then, charging across the old bridge, or slipping up under cover of those old houses, they passed the branch, formed on the Washington side of the river, and that night moved into Washington. The back lanes of this town, and the houses which lie up the green hill-terraces, show large and comfortable yet. The flat main street smells of the ague, feels of the rheumatism, and looks of starvation. Its grave, hip-roofed, blackened old houses, look in the twilight like rows of wrecked hulks along a bar when the tide has gone out. In the baking sunshine of the day they look like tawny elephants, waiting in two lines to carry up the vast delay of cargoes which nevermore shall come to Bladensburg piers. Mighty outside chim-

neys hold themselves and their old houses up. The porches hang limp, like the dislocated chins of dead men. There are no sidewalks. No wagon moves oftener than once an hour through those old waiting rows of mansions. There is a shop or two, but the merchant lolls in the door and looks where the river used to be for the unreturning ships."

Of the many "affairs of honor" that have been settled at Bladensburg, the most notable is the Decatur-Barron duel and after it, perhaps, the cold-blooded murder in which Graves and Cilley were the principals. Several of the famous duels of the times which took place elsewhere have been mistakenly connected with this place.

Duels were of frequent occurrence at the time that Jonathan Cilley, of Maine, and William Graves, of Kentucky, had their fatal meeting. In February, 1838, the former charged in the House of Representatives that James Watson Webb, the editor of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, had received a bribe from the Bank of the United States. Representative Graves took upon himself to champion the cause of the journalist and with the aid of Henry A. Wise, forced Cilley into a duel.

Graves and Cilley met on the duelling ground of Bladensburg and faced each other with rifles. At the first fire both missed. The challenge was

then suspended for the purpose of explanation, when Cilley repeated what he had before declared, that he had none but feelings of respect for Mr. Graves and no quarrel with him. This statement did not satisfy Graves and Wise who were bent on killing their man. Accordingly the opponents resumed their positions.

A second time shots were exchanged without effect and again General Jones, Cilley's second, attempted to bring about a reconciliation. The other side, however, was implacable and for a third time the men faced each other, the one reluctantly, the other with deadly determination. Before the word to fire was given Wise said to General Jones: "If this matter is not terminated by this shot, and is not settled, I will propose to shorten the distance," to which the latter replied: "After this shot, if without effect, I will entertain the proposition."

At the word, the rifles rang out simultaneously and Cilley fell. Graves expressed a desire to see him, to which General Jones replied: "My friend is dead." Graves and Wise then went to their carriage and left the ground.

The two seconds in this affair, one of whom was only slightly less culpable than the other, made a statement in which they said: "We cordially agree in bearing unqualified testimony to the fair and honorable manner in which the duel was con-

ducted. None can regret its termination more than ourselves, and we hope that the last of it will be the signatures of our names to this paper, which we now affix."

The disgust excited by the account of this affair is not without the relief of humor, excited by the naïve statement that "none can regret its termination more than ourselves." They did, indeed, strive to make a "continuous performance" of the affair.

Stephen Decatur belonged to a family in which duelling was apparently held to be something of a pastime. His father had counseled him to fight a duel before he became of age and in the course of his life he was either principal, second or instigator in innumerable affairs of the kind. It was but stern justice that he should at last fall at the hands of a man whom he had forced into a quarrel with himself.

Barron was a brave but unfortunate officer whose lot had been disgrace and exile. When he returned to his native land seeking employment in the service to which he had devoted his best years, Decatur, who was firmly planted on the top of the ladder and might easily have afforded to be generous towards his old enemy, opposed the application and induced his fellow Commissioners to take a similar stand. Not satisfied with thus balking Barron's desire, Decatur renewed his old-time per-

secution of him, spoke insultingly of him in public, and voiced groundless slanders reflecting upon his personal character. Barron, ruined in reputation, lacking a livelihood, broken in spirit, and declining years, had no stomach for a quarrel. He wrote to his tormentor with touching appeal: "I had concluded that your rancor towards me was fully satisfied by the cruel and unmerited sentence of the Court of which you were a member. After an exile of seven years from my country, family, and friends, I hoped that you would suffer my lacerated feelings to remain in quiet possession of these enjoyments —" to which Decatur returned brutal and jocose reply. There was nothing left to Barron but to challenge his persecutor as, in fact, the latter had virtually invited him more than once to do.

They faced each other at Bladensburg, the one gray, bent, weary and short of sight; the other in the prime of life, haughty and contemptuous. At the word the pistols were discharged as with a single report. Barron fell to the ground with a groan. Decatur was seen to straighten himself and press his hand to his side. So he stood for a few seconds and then dropped senseless. He was carried a short distance to higher ground and presently came to his senses, saying: "I am mortally wounded. I would I had died in the service of my country." Barron then said: "Everything

has been conducted in the most honorable manner. I am mortally wounded. Commodore Decatur, I forgive you from the bottom of my heart."

Three days later, Decatur died, mourned by the whole nation, and Barron recovered to be execrated as his slayer.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PRESIDENTS AND THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE White House — as it is now almost universally called — is, at once, the residence and the office of the Chief Executive and Head of the Republic. The Constitution provides that the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. . . . He “shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States and of the Militia of the several States when called into the service of the United States. . . . He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law.

He shall have power to fill all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of the next session." He shall "from time to time give Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." He is empowered "to convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case they cannot agree with respect to the time of adjournment, to adjourn them to such time as he may think proper; to receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; to take care that the laws be faithfully executed; to commission all the officers of the United States."

The article of the Constitution specifically defining the powers and duties of the President does not refer to his right of veto, that matter having been covered in the preceding article pertaining to the legislative branch of the government. This latter portion of the instrument provides that every bill shall pass the House of Representatives and the Senate must, before it may become law, be presented to the President for his approval. His signature confirms it but he may return it to the House in which it originated with a statement of his objections to signing it. The bill must then be reconsidered and resubmitted to the vote of the members. If two-thirds of these are in favor of

· **White House, from North**



its passage, it must be sent to the other House, and in case of a similar proportion of that body supports it, it shall become law over the veto of the President. It very seldom happens, however, that Congress overrides such explicit objection of the President.

The "Executive Mansion" was the first name — though it was styled "The President's House" on early maps — and still is the official style of the building, the corner stone of which was laid on the thirteenth day of October, 1792. It was designed by Hoban who superintended its construction and, under Latrobe, its renovation after 1814. A fanciful statement has been made that the building was named the "white house" at the time of its foundation after the home of Martha Washington. There does not, however, appear to be any record of the use of that name until after 1814, when it was painted white to cover the marks of injuries inflicted by the British and also, probably, as a preservative measure, for it is of exceedingly soft sandstone. This coating is renewed every summer at no little expense.

When the business of the President could conveniently be transacted with the aid of a single secretary — and generally an amateur at that — the building was more than ample for all purposes, but its occupants in the past quarter of a century have been much crowded. The suggestion

of a separate residence for the President and the devotion of the Executive Mansion exclusively to business, has been raised from time to time and, no doubt, will ultimately be acted upon, but the addition of wings in recent years has deferred the necessity of a change.

Through the main door, within a large portico, one enters a spacious vestibule. On the left, reached by a passage, is the historic East Room, which is used for public receptions and state occasions. It is a lofty apartment, eighty feet in length and half as wide. The oval Blue Room is the President's reception chamber. Another parlor — the Green Room — and the State Dining Room, are on the ground floor. The upper floor contains the private apartments of the household. The offices of the President and his staff, as well as the Cabinet chamber, are now in the west wing.

Washington selected the site of the "President's house," as he termed it, and is said to have gone through the building, accompanied by his wife, shortly before his death. When President Adams took possession, in November, 1800, the place was described by the Commissioners as "ready for occupancy," but Mrs. Adams found it very much less comfortable than the home she had left in Quincy. As a matter of fact, its interior was far from complete and several occupants came and went before its barrack-like proportions became subdued by the

introduction of conveniences, embellishments and comforts. The lower apartments have in the course of time and by gradual additions, become galleries and museums of historic objects. Many of the ornaments are gifts from foreign potentates and notable Americans, and almost every President has left some articles of furniture or of decoration as a memento of his occupancy.

During Mrs. Adams' brief residence, the social rules established by the wife of the first President were observed and only persons of station or established reputation were received at the White House. On the occasion of a reception, President Adams, bewigged, and clothed in black velvet suit with knee-breeches, walked round the circle of the guests, saying a few words to each, after which they came up singly, made a formal bow and retired. The desire, which Washington had entertained, was to surround the Executive with something of the formal observances and stiff etiquette of European courts. The next incumbent of the office introduced a great change.

Jefferson's occupancy of the White House was marked by the most extensive hospitality, but also by a neglect of the proprieties that well-nigh involved the country in difficulties with some of the powers represented at the capital. He set up social rules — or rather elastic amendments of those generally recognized — based on the assertion that

“when brought together in society all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office,” and insisted that the members of his Cabinet should observe this principle.

The White House was practically a bachelor establishment during Jefferson's term. Women were seldom seen within its walls as guests. His long dining room was crowded daily with men, who sat down to dinner at four o'clock and rose at midnight. On New Year's Day and the Fourth of July, the doors were thrown open to all and refreshments were liberally dispensed. The President was, in fact, somewhat prodigal in his entertainment and, thereby, ran heavily into debt as he admits in more than one of his letters. Mrs. Randolph, his eldest daughter, headed the household during two seasons, but found the task distasteful. In her absence, Mrs. Madison the wife of the Secretary of State, acted as hostess on state occasions, which were far from numerous.

The President carried democratic manners to the point of studied negligence in dress, with the result of giving offense to several members of the diplomatic corps. When Merry, the newly-arrived British minister went by appointment, in the regulation costume, to present himself to the President, he was, as he recounts, “introduced to a man as the President of the United States not merely

in an undress, but actually standing in slippers down at the heels, and pantaloons, coat, and underclothes indicative of utter slovenliness and indifference to appearance, but in a state of negligence actually studied." Naturally enough, the minister carried away a conviction that a premeditated insult had been offered to the sovereign whom he represented.

Madison was an undersized, insignificant looking man, past his prime, when he entered the White House but he brought with him a wife who was the most successful society leader Washington has ever known. "Dolly" Madison's sway and her popularity lasted to the end of her long life. After she left the Executive Mansion, her residence — in what is now the main building of the Cosmos Club — became a point of attraction for the most distinguished personages in the capital.

Mrs. Madison, despite her antecedents,— she was the daughter of Quaker parents and the widow of one of the sect — was richly endowed with the qualities that tend to make a woman shine in society. She was beautiful and of a queenly carriage. She combined dignity with cordiality, vivacity with tact, and frankness with a regard for the amenities. In short she was *la grande dame* in manners, in dress and in character.

Mrs. Madison reëstablished many of the formalities that had prevailed at the White House during

the time of Mrs. Adams but the etiquette resumed was entirely devoid of austerity. Besides the frequent receptions of the President, dinner parties and levees were of weekly occurrence. The hostess proper was assisted in her extensive social duties by her two sisters.

Washington Irving attended a drawing room at the White House, in January, 1811, where he "found a crowded collection of great and little men, of ugly old women and beautiful young ones, and in ten minutes was hand and glove with half of the old people in the assemblage." Mrs. Madison, he says, "is a fine buxom portly dame, who has a smile for everybody. Her sisters, Mrs. Cutts and Mrs. Washington, are like the two Merry Wives of Windsor; but as to Jemmy Madison — ah! poor Jemmy! — he is but a withered little apple-John."

Edward Coles, who had been private secretary to Jefferson, filled that position with his successor, until 1816, when his place was taken by Payne Todd, the gifted but wayward son of Mrs. Madison. This young man, who survived his mother by little more than a year, was at once a trial and a solace to her. Through his career of wild dissipation the deep love existing between the two burned with unimpaired brightness. "Poor Payne!" the doting parent was wont to say, "Poor Payne! With all his wildness, he has a heart of pure gold."

The next master of the White House was "a tall, spare, gray-haired man, with a grave, mild face, dignified and courteous in bearing, and dressed always with fastidious care in a dark-blue coat, buff vest, small clothes, top-boots, and a cocked hat of Revolutionary style." Mrs. Monroe had been a social leader in New York but at the time of her advent to the White House, was broken in health and unequal to extensive social duties. She did, however, institute a weekly drawing room, which was open to all comers, if we may believe the following account of the *Intelligencer*:

"The secretaries, senators, foreign ministers, consuls, auditors, accountants, officers of the army and navy of every grade, farmers, merchants, parsons, priests, lawyers, judges, auctioneers, and nothingarians, with their wives, and some with their gawky offspring, crowd to the President's House every Wednesday evening; some in shoes, most in boots; and many in spurs; some snuffing others chewing, and many longing for their cigars and whiskey punches left at home. Some with powdered heads, others frizzled and oiled, and some whose heads a comb had never touched, half hid by dirty collars reaching far above their ears as stiff as pasteboard."

This is probably an exaggerated picture, perhaps prompted by the fact that questions of pre-

cedence and social propriety stirred the capital at this time and excited varying sentiments. Mrs. Monroe and her daughters were familiar with the usages of the best European society and not unmindful of the advantage of a certain degree of conventionality. It was with their encouragement, if not at their instigation, that John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, drew up a code of social observance which is the foundation of the present official etiquette at the capital.

Monroe's private secretary was his nephew, Samuel Gouverneur, of New York. In 1820, the latter married his cousin, Maria Monroe, in the East Room, which was gorgeous with lately arrived furniture from Paris. This was the first marriage ceremony performed at the White House. It was a quiet affair, restricted to the immediate relatives of the contracting parties.

The closing months of Monroe's administration witnessed a notable event in the history of the White House. The venerable Lafayette, in the United States as the guest of the nation, after an extensive tour of the country, took up his residence at the Executive Mansion for several months. The occasion of his departure was made a general holiday in Washington. A numerous company assembled at the White House to take leave of the distinguished guest and the President — by this

time, Adams the younger,—made a speech that moved his audience to tears.

John Quincy Adams was in the full strength of his mental and physical vigor when he became the head of the nation. He had an extraordinary personality made up of a mixture of admirable and unamiable qualities. No more patriotic and honorable man ever lived, but he was suspicious, censorious and unsympathetic. To unattractive physical characteristics, he added an austerity and lack of sociability that repelled most persons who came in contact with him. His habits were extremely simple and democratic, and yet so little understood by the public that the fact of his having bought some silver plate and a billiard table for the White House, with money voted by Congress, aroused popular indignation and rumors that the President was assuming a regal style of living.

President Adams habitually rose at sunrise in the summer and not later than six o'clock at any season. He then took a ride or walked down to the river, or the "tobacco box," as the pool near the present Monument was called, and indulged in his favorite pastime of swimming. Returning home he read the Bible in conjunction with a commentary, then went through the morning papers, and afterwards applied himself to official business until breakfast which was regularly

served at nine. From ten till four he remained in his office, devoting his attention strictly to affairs of state. The interval between four and the dinner at half-past five was spent in walking or riding. He rose from the principal meal of the day to return to his official papers and the consideration of public affairs, commonly remaining secluded in his office until far into the night. His son John, who acted as his private secretary and inherited many of his most striking characteristics, was almost an equally hard worker.

If the President largely ignored the demands of society, his wife was in no respect remiss in her social duties. Mrs. Adams was a woman of breeding, culture and good education. Accustomed from her childhood to the society of persons of refinement, she graced the position of mistress of the White House as few others have done. The evening levees of her two immediate predecessors were maintained with marked success. State dinners were frequently given, to which members of Congress, irrespective of party, were invited, and in other ways Mrs. Adams contrived to make the White House a center of pleasant society during her husband's term of office, without relaxing the dignity and etiquette which she believed should prevail at the residence of the Chief Executive of a nation that was gaining recognition as a great power.

Andrew Jackson's entrance to the White House marked a return to the Jeffersonian order of things. "Everybody, including the servants flocked to the levees and the Cabinet receptions, and the story is told of a certain cartman who left his vehicle in the street and entered the White House in frock and overalls to shake hands with the President. An incident of this sort might have easily occurred, for Jackson was as democratic in his tastes and habits as in his principles." He once had a huge cheese that had been sent to him by one of his admirers, cut and distributed among the mixed crowd at a White House reception, with the result of ruining the carpet and upholstery of the room.

Jackson's wife died between the dates of his election and inauguration. The duties of mistress of the White House were performed by Mrs. Donelson, except for a short period when disagreement with her husband's adoptive-father in the Eaton matter led to her leaving the house.

What was spoken of at the time as "the Eaton affair," involved serious political consequences besides creating a social convulsion. Peggy O'Neil, the daughter of a local inn-keeper, married, when hardly more than sixteen years of age, a young purser in the navy, named Timberlake. In 1828, the husband committed suicide, out of which deed and the cause that prompted it, grew the famous

“nose-pulling incident,” referred to elsewhere. After her husband’s death, the beautiful Peggy became the wife of John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, with whom her name had previously been unfavorably coupled. Under the circumstances the wives of the other Cabinet officers refused to receive Mrs. Eaton and their husband’s restricted their intercourse with him to official business. Jackson zealously espoused the cause of Mrs. Eaton and made her a frequent and honored guest at the Executive Mansion. The three married members of the Cabinet were forced to resign. Van Buren and Barry, who were widowers, sided with the President in the quarrel and, with the ministers of Great Britain and Russia, entertained “the princess of discords at suppers, dinners, and balls. Her audacity on these occasions was as brilliant as her beauty was bewildering. Staid matrons of the Cabinet and Congressional set called untimely for their carriages, clergymen denounced her publicly, and Peggy, dancing for joy, ran daily to Jackson with fresh stories of delightful insult.”

After the death of Eaton, this woman, at the age of sixty-three, married an Italian music master, who was hardly more than a boy. He presently eloped with her money and her granddaughter.

Mrs. Eaton — as she called herself after divorcing the rascally foreigner — died in 1879, at the age of eighty-three. It is said that her last words

were: "I am not afraid to go — but this is such a beautiful world."

During Jackson's second term, Harriet Martineau paid a visit to Washington and dined with the President. A few days later she witnessed the attempt of the crazy sign-painter, Lawrence, to assassinate him. "The attack," wrote the famous authoress, "threw Mr. Jackson into a tremendous passion. He fears nothing, but his temper is not equal to his courage. Instead of putting the event calmly aside and proceeding with the business of the hour, it was found necessary to put him in his carriage and send him home."

The White House, when Miss Martineau was a guest there, "had lately been refurnished at a cost of several thousand dollars. Particular attention had been given to the East Room, which was now adorned with four mantelpieces of black Italian marble, each one surmounted by a large mirror in a heavy gilded ornamental frame, while a rich Brussels carpet covered the floor, and three large cut-glass chandeliers hung from the ceiling." (These were recently removed to the Capitol.) "There was also a profusion of gilded chairs and sofas upholstered with blue damask; heavy curtains of blue and yellow moreen shaded the windows, and French china vases, filled with artificial flowers, adorned the mantelpieces and the three marble-topped center-tables."

All this finery made but slight appeal to Jackson, who was never so happy as when conversing with his cronies in the office upon the upper floor, where he would ensconce himself in an arm-chair, with his feet on the table and a corn-cob pipe in his mouth. His favorite amusement was horse-racing and he more than once had animals of his own breeding brought up from the Hermitage and entered by Donelson in races at the National Course just north of the city. The President wagered freely on these events but never risked greater sums than he could afford to lose without embarrassment.

Van Buren came to the White House a widower and for a while the establishment lacked a mistress. However, in November, 1837, the President's son Abraham, was married to Angelica Singleton of South Carolina, and thenceforth that lady presided over the functions at the Executive Mansion. John, a younger son of the President, who became famous as a lawyer, was also a resident of the White House during his father's administration.

“Van Buren had not been long in the White House before he had it refurnished in expensive fashion, while at the same time he restored the social usages which had been followed by Washington, Madison, and other of the earlier Presidents. He made the Executive Mansion pleasant and attractive to all — this without compromising the dignity of his high office — and genial and social, even with

his most decided opponents, he soon attracted crowds to his levees and receptions. Thus the White House lost the cold and depressing air it had worn during the closing days of the Jackson Administration, when increasing age and infirmity made its occupants austere, arrogant, and impatient, too often, of contradiction."

In the autumn of 1837, Mrs. Madison returned to Washington, welcomed by all, and took up her residence in the house at the corner of Madison Place and H Street, that had formed part of her husband's estate. There she lived, the undisputed leader of Washington society, until her death twelve years later.

Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, old, feeble, and broken in health, worn by the heavy and unaccustomed strain of office, fell easy victim to a cold and died a few weeks after entering the White House. This, the first death in office of a Chief Executive, was followed by a stately funeral service in the East Room and a procession to the Congressional Cemetery. A few years later, the remains were removed, in compliance with the request of the family, to North Bend, Indiana.

John Tyler was the first of "our accidental Presidents." During his residence at the White House the ceremonious etiquette restored by Van Buren, was once more banished. The new President brought his family slaves up to Washington

and conducted his household after the manner of the old school of Virginia planters. There was the most extensive hospitality, but little ceremony. The wife of the President died towards the second year of her husband's term and during the two ensuing years Mrs. Robert Tyler, a daughter of the actor Cooper, played the part of mistress of the mansion with tactful success. Shortly before his retirement from office, the President married the young and beautiful Miss Julia Gardiner, of New York. The last days of their tenancy of the White House were marked by a ball given in honor of the incoming President, who was, however, prevented from attending owing to Mrs. Polk's illness.

Polk was a plain man of ordinary appearance, in his fiftieth year, when he came to the White House. His wife was a woman of striking beauty, somewhat rustic and Puritanical, but a tactful and pleasing hostess withal. She would not allow dancing under her roof and it is not beyond suspicion that she may have feigned illness in order to avoid attendance at the parting function of the Tylers.

During his term, the straight figure of the hard-featured Taylor, clad in an ill-fitting coat, became familiar to the people of Washington, for it was the habit of the President to spend several hours of each day walking about the city, and he

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White House, from South



was constantly seen on Pennsylvania Avenue which by this time had become a frequented promenade. Mrs. Taylor was something of an invalid and, moreover, less accustomed to the atmosphere of a drawing-room than to that of a camp, having married the General in his youth and having followed his fortunes in the field. She was, therefore, glad to delegate her social duties to her daughter Elizabeth, who had married Colonel William Bliss, one of General Taylor's staff in the Mexican War. "Pretty Betty Bliss," as she was called with the freedom of the times, was an ideal hostess and made the White House functions very popular.

On the Fourth of July, 1850, when he had been little more than one year in office, President Zachary Taylor was suddenly stricken with illness and five days later he passed away, with the dying words: "I have tried to do my duty." For three days his body lay in state in the East Room of the White House and was then interred in the Congressional Cemetery. Some time after, the remains were removed to the suburb of St. Matthew's near Louisville.

Although Washington society at this time was particularly lively, and almost brilliant, the social life of the White House continued to be characterized by the common-place that had distinguished it for several terms. Mrs. Fillmore, though gracious

and anxious to please, was studious and straight-laced. She found the duties of an official hostess onerous and distasteful but applied herself to them so conscientiously as to hasten — so it has been said — her death which occurred shortly after she left the White House. Her successor found the burden no less heavy, though from different causes.

Retiring by temperament, an invalid for years, and mourning for a beloved child at the time of her husband's elevation to the head of the nation, Mrs. Pierce was utterly incapacitated for the performance of the duties of hostess and the President himself dispensed the hospitality of their home with tact and urbanity. It was an arduous and unhappy situation for both, and it was without regret that they left the Executive Mansion to return to their modest New England home. Pierce, who had entered upon office the most popular man in the country, created a host of enemies by his indecisive attitude toward the limitless horde of office seekers.

The handsome and stately Buchanan was the first bachelor President. His beautiful niece, Harriet Lane, presided over his household and instituted a régime of delightful and refined social functions with an infusion of something like the elegance and formality that prevailed at the White House under its first occupant. The President was as methodical in his habits as John Quincy

Adams had been. He rose at an early hour and took his seat at his desk punctually at eight every morning. Save for a brief interval devoted to luncheon, he remained in his office until five o'clock. There is no doubt that he burdened himself unnecessarily with comparatively unimportant details and found pleasure in doing so. He read every letter addressed to him and himself wrote the replies of all that were personal in character. He attended to the most minute affairs, examining and checking all items of the household expenditure. It must not be inferred from this that Buchanan was parsimonious. On the contrary, his residence in the White House cost him considerably more than his salary amounted to.

In the autumn of 1860, the Prince of Wales visited the United States and made a stay at the White House as the guest of the President. Several entertainments were given in honor of the royal visitor but he is said to have been somewhat disappointed that a ball was not included among them. Buchanan was not willing that what had grown into a sort of traditional tabu of dancing at the White House should be violated, but the Prince's desire for terpsichorean indulgence was appeased by a grand ball at the British Embassy.

During Lincoln's residence, the White House was saddened by the shadow of fratricidal war, and by the death of a child who had been his father's

constant companion and the pet of the household. There were few receptions, but frequent visitors who were received with democratic lack of formality. The President was always accessible to the most lowly of the people and his wife's sweet disposition and unfailing cheerfulness endeared her to all with whom she came in contact. Much of her time was spent on errands of mercy and kindness, comforting the bereaved, visiting the hospitals and aiding the extension of relief to the soldiers in the field. There was a regime of delightful and refined social life. There were those in Washington who mistook Mrs. Lincoln's modest simplicity for lack of culture, but in this they were widely astray, for the White House never had a more refined mistress and seldom one better educated.

President Johnson lived a very simple and a very laborious life dividing his time between the demands of business and attention to his invalid wife. Mrs. Patterson, the President's daughter, filled a position made difficult by the political estrangement of her father, with tact and patience that excited the admiration of observers. The social center of the time was, however, the residence of the Grants on Minnesota Row, where the brilliancy of the weekly receptions foreshadowed the coming event.

President Grant maintained in the White House the regular and simple habits of the soldier. When

not engaged on official business, he was frequently to be seen strolling about his grounds or along the avenue. A notable event during this term was the marriage in the East Room of Nellie, the daughter of the President, to Algernon Sartoris, an Englishman, on the morning of May 21, 1874.

The occupancy of Hayes marks the only period in which intoxicants have been tabu at the White House. The portrait of Mrs. Hayes, presented by the Women's National Temperance Union, is an acknowledgment of her rigid adherence to total abstinence. James Garfield was the only President whose mother was a resident at the White House. Mrs. Eliza Garfield always received with her daughter-in-law and was no less popular. The more recent occupants of the Executive Mansion are fresh in the memory of all.

Now-a-days, our Presidents maintain much the same style of simple and dignified elegance in their households. There is an established code of etiquette which is democratic without being loose. Any citizen bent on public business may call upon the Chief Executive during the forenoon. When Congress is in session, each day sees the ante-room crowded with visitors from every part of the country and charged with every conceivable sort of errand. Office-seekers are not so numerous as they were before the institution of the Civil Service Commission, but the majority of the President's

callers have either claims to press or requests to make.

The office of secretary to the President has become an exceedingly important and onerous one. To this aide, the President looks for a large measure of relief from the tremendous pressure of public business. The private secretary, who has a large staff of assistants, goes through the heavy mail and sifts it, so that only a comparatively small proportion needs the actual attention of the President. By similar exercise of judgment, the private secretary contrives to dispose of a large number of the callers at the office of the White House. His relations with the President are very confidential and his dealings with the public call for the exercise of qualities of the highest order.

The salary of fifty thousand dollars received by the President is generally admitted to be insufficient and few occupants of the White House contrive to keep their expenditures within that sum. The country provides the furniture of the residence and keeps it and the grounds in order, but the President is required to meet all the other household expenses. The office staff and the private secretary are, of course, paid by the Government which lays out about one hundred thousand dollars a year on the maintenance of the White House.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CAPITOL AND THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

THE most important task before the first Commissioners of the District was the erection of the Capitol — for such it was called from the first, although in early charts it is marked “Congress House.” They advertised for plans and offered a premium of five hundred dollars and a building lot for the best design. The result tended to show that there were few Americans at the time possessing any marked degree of talent in the practical arts. The advertisement of the Commissioners attracted what a later professional architect characterized as “a pile of trash,” almost entirely the product of amateurs. The first work in connection with the Capitol was performed by four foreigners, William Thornton, a native of the West Indies, Stephen Hallet, a Frenchman, George Hadfield, an Englishman, and James Hoban, an Irishman. The two first-named submitted plans, parts of both of which were adopted. The consequence was a quarrel as to the award and a controversy as to the credit. It is impossible to reach any definite con-

clusion from the records of the matter and the question is now of only secondary importance since the ideas of Thornton and Hallet have been completely overshadowed by the conceptions of their successors. Doctor Thornton served for some years as one of the Commissioners of the District and afterwards continued his residence in Washington where he spent the remainder of his days taking a prominent part in the affairs of the city. He brought together a collection of models and mechanical devices that became the nucleus of the Patent Office, of which he was the first curator. The Doctor also enjoys the distinction of having founded the race-track at Washington. Hallet was employed in the capacity of architect for a few months but, like his fellow-countryman L'Enfant, he quarreled with the Commissioners and was dismissed.

The corner-stone of the Capitol was laid by President Washington on the eighteenth day of September, 1793. Shortly afterwards, Hadfield was invited to come to America and superintend the work on the public buildings at Washington. He continued in that service until the Spring of 1798, when he was succeeded by James Hoban, the designer of the White House. Hadfield was the most experienced and talented man connected with the public works at the capital up to that time and gave ample proof of his taste and ability in the

designs of the City Hall and the Treasury building and War Office. Latrobe thought very highly of him and re-employed him between 1803 and 1817.

The next in succession of Capitol architects was that versatile genius, the originator of the distinctive American style of architecture, who did so much in various directions towards the material advancement of the young nation. Benjamin H. Latrobe was born in England and finished his education in Europe. Before returning to his native land, in 1782, he made a tour of the Continent for the purpose of examining the principal public buildings. He then entered an architect's office in London and later followed that profession with moderate success until he came to America in 1796. There was at that time a wide demand for men of his profession in this country, and Latrobe designed and erected a number of important buildings in Richmond, Philadelphia and New York, besides many private residences.

In 1803, Benjamin Latrobe was appointed architect of the Capitol, which was at the time hardly fit for occupancy, the construction work having been very faulty. Latrobe, with the assistance of Hadfield, put the building in a condition of safety and made many alterations in the original plans. He was, however, prevented by lack of funds from carrying his intentions as far as he had desired. When the Capitol was burned in 1814, Latrobe was

at Pittsburg, engaged with Fulton, Livingston, and Roosevelt, in the construction of the first steamboat to be launched in this country. At the call of the Government, he returned to Washington and entered upon the work of reconstructing the damaged building, which he found in a less ruinous condition than he had anticipated. The blue marble which is conspicuous in the corridors and in Statuary Hall, was substituted for the freestone that had been the main material heretofore. Latrobe designed the ground plan of the two wings and was also responsible for the two legislative halls.

Latrobe's connection with Washington is further marked by the erection of several notable structures, including Saint John's church and the mansion of Representative Van Ness, who married Marcia Burnes and settled in the District. He severed his connection with the Government in consequence of a disagreement with Samuel Lane, the Commissioner of Public Buildings appointed by President Monroe.

The first native American among the Capitol architects was Charles Bullfinch, of Boston, who took the place of Latrobe and, following his plans, built the rotunda, the old dome and the library. An important piece of work performed by Bullfinch was the construction of the glacis and terraces on the west side, thus giving the building

an appearance of equilibrium that it previously lacked owing to the greater depth of the structure at the end in question. The Capitol was virtually completed when Bullfinch retired, in 1830. He erected the old penitentiary at Greenleaf's Point, where Booth's associates were tried and hanged in 1865.

For a quarter of a century, the Capitol remained much as Bullfinch had left it. Its cost up to that time had been somewhat less than three millions of dollars and has not exceeded fourteen millions in all, which is a moderate sum when compared with the amounts laid out on similar buildings in Albany, Harrisburg and elsewhere. The national Capitol, as it stood in 1830, was generally admired by connoisseurs and admitted to be commensurate with the growing greatness of the nation. Twenty years later, however, Congress recognized that the building was inadequate to the business of the expanding country and the increase of popular representation. It was determined to replace the old wings by greater ones upon the same plan and the task was entrusted to Thomas U. Walter, of Philadelphia, the first classical architect of America.

This undertaking is remarkable as the first important occasion on which the United States Engineer Corps took part in the erection of a public building in Washington — work which is largely in its hands at present. Captain Montgomery C.

Meigs was associated with Walter in making the additions to the Capitol. He had control of the disbursements and must have been invested with further authority, for he changed the architect's plans in some particulars. Walter's improvements included the beautiful dome, which is the finest feature of the edifice, and brought the Capitol practically to the state in which it now stands. During the stirring days of the war, work progressed on the Capitol, betokening the Government's confidence in the outcome of the struggle, and on the second day of December, 1863, Crawford's Goddess of Liberty took her stand upon the summit of the dome. Towards the end of 1867, the building was pronounced finished "in such a manner that it would last for ages as a creditable monument of the state of the arts at this time in this country."

It is doubtful if any building in the world produces so imposing an effect as the Capitol at Washington. Its base rests upon the summit of a hill at an elevation of nearly one hundred feet above the level of the streets of the city and its crowning statue overtops them by more than four hundred feet. The grandeur of the structure is enhanced by the fifty acres of lawn and park by which it is surrounded. This setting and its elevated position relieve the building of any appearance of heaviness, despite the massive proportions of its bulk which covers three and one-half acres of ground. The

dome that rises from the center of the pile, the most conspicuous object in the landscape for miles around, has an aspect of graceful lightness, although it weighs more than eight million pounds. Viewed as the culminating point of the vista down Pennsylvania Avenue and poised against the background of sky, it presents a picture that is unsurpassed by any of the works of modern architecture.

The total length of the building is slightly more than seven hundred and fifty feet and its greatest breadth, somewhat less than half that distance. The main portion lies between a basement and an attic story. From the former rise ranks of pillars to the entablature which is surmounted by a marble balustrade. The east side, where the entrance steps rise from the roadway, was designed for the front but the noble approach from the other side and the fact that the greater part of the traffic is by the doors on the west have brought about a generally recognized reversal of the original order.

The rotunda and dome, taken as component parts of a whole, constitute the most beautiful and — from the architectural point of view — the most interesting portion of the Capitol. The rotunda occupies the center of the original structure. To the north of it extends the Senate side of the building and to the south, the House side. On the former flank lies the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court; on the latter,

Statuary Hall which was formerly the chamber of the House of Representatives. The rotunda is three hundred feet in circumference and its circular wall rises to a height of one hundred and eighty-five feet, or slightly more than twice the length of its diameter. A circle of windows above the frieze lights this magnificent chamber, whose ceiling is the dome. The panels of the walls contain large oil paintings of historic events. The most noteworthy of these pictures are the four Trumbull canvases devoted to subjects connected with the Revolution. The value of these paintings is derived chiefly from the fact that the principal figures in them are actual portraits of the characters represented. Colonel John Trumbull, who as aide-de-camp to General Washington had unusual opportunities for familiarizing himself with the features of the leading Americans of the time, improved a natural talent for painting by study in Europe. After the war, he traveled through this country and secured sittings from the most conspicuous actors in the Revolution and after more than thirty years of preparation, he executed the pictures in the rotunda under a commission from Congress.

The spherical portion of the dome is covered by an allegorical fresco by Brumidi in which the figures are of colossal size. This occupies a field of more than forty-five hundred square feet. This

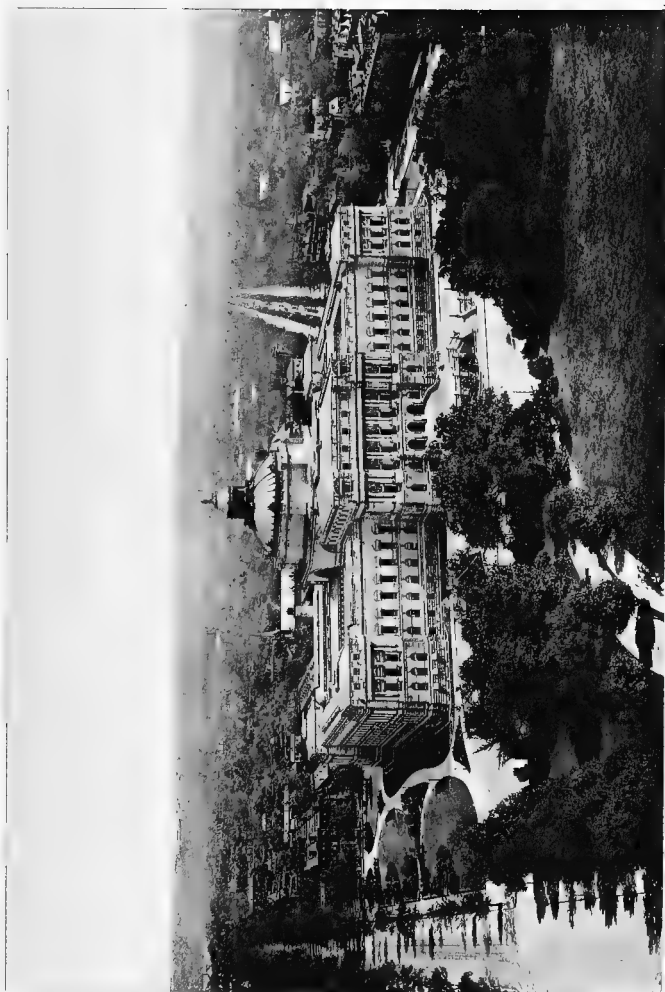
may be examined to greater advantage from the gallery which encircles the rotunda just above the frieze and which is reached by a stairway starting from the adjacent lobby. The spiral stair continues up to the crowning cupola, which contains a large lantern, lighted only when Congress is in session, and above which stands the enormous statue of Liberty that — owing to its headdress of feathers and ample drapery — is so often taken by visitors to be an Indian wrapped in a blanket. The bronze figure, with its pedestal is twenty feet in height and weighs about fifteen thousand pounds. It was raised to its position in sections, the head and shoulders being put in place on the second of December, 1863, to the salute of cannon.

From this point a wide and beautiful panorama extends on every side, such as can be secured elsewhere only from the top of the Washington monument, but as the two structures are more than a mile apart each affords a difference of view. It is only from some such elevation that one can gain a full realization of the natural beauties of Washington and the artistic excellence of its arrangement. The traveler who has seen "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" shall find here an impression that no other city can make upon him. The clear air, broad streets and open spaces make the picture sharp and definite. Every essential detail stands out distinct and nowhere is the mar-

ring effect of congested slums. And this picture of a city, incomparable in many respects, is set in surrounding scenery of the most lovely and diversified description. But to return to the ground floor of the Capitol —

Passing southward along the main corridor, one enters the Hall of Statuary, which until 1857 was the meeting place of the House of Representatives. It is a fine semicircular chamber, embellished with marble columns and designed upon ideas suggested by ancient Grecian models. It is a forcible reminder of the growth of the country in half a century, for the present body of Representatives could hardly find standing room in it, whereas it formerly contained not only the desks of all the members but left a liberal space beyond them. About thirty years ago, there was talk of sacrificing this historic chamber to some fanciful scheme of architectural improvement but fortunately the idea was abandoned. There is no point in the Capitol to which more stirring memories attach than this. Here the great questions that agitated the nation in the fifty years following 1808 were debated and some of the most important legislative measures in our history decided. These walls have echoed to the eloquence, the wisdom and the wit of Webster, Clay, Adams, Calhoun, Randolph, Marshall, Davis, and many more of the nation's most brilliant and gifted statesmen.

Library of Congress



Congress fittingly decided to devote the old chamber to a collection of statues of the great men of the country and invited each State to send "the effigies of two of her chosen sons in marble or in bronze, to be placed permanently here." The selection for such an honor is no light or easy matter and many of the States have yet to exercise their privilege.

Among the notables gathered here is one woman — Frances Elizabeth Willard, whose statue is the work of another — Helen Farnsworth Mear. At its base is inscribed the following eloquent plea of the apostle of temperance:

"Ah! it is women who have given the costliest hostages to fortune, when to the battle of life they have sent their best beloved with fearful odds against them. Oh, by the dangers they have dared, by the hours of patient watching over beds where helpless children lay, by the incense of ten thousand prayers wafted from their gentle lips to heaven — I charge you give them power to protect, along life's treacherous highway, those whom they have so loved."

The present chamber of the House of Representatives is a simple but spacious and imposing hall, one hundred and thirty-nine feet long and ninety-three feet wide. The floor space is occupied mainly with desks of the members arranged in parallel, diminishing semicircles, converging upon the

Speaker's rostrum.* This is of white marble, standing upon a platform at an elevation of four or five feet above the ground. To the right of it is a pedestal, on which is erected the Speaker's Mace, when the House is in session. When it is in Committee of the Whole, the Mace is laid upon the floor. This symbol of authority is composed of a bundle of ebony rods bound with silver bands, in semblance of the fasces carried by the Roman lictors. It is surmounted by a silver globe on which an eagle is poised with outstretched wings. About the Speaker's desk are placed marble tables for the clerks and reporters of the House and above and behind it is the press gallery. The doors flanking this focal point open upon the House lobby, the walls of which are hung with portraits of by-gone Speakers. Some of the best paintings in the Capitol are to be found in the House of Representatives.

Passing from the rotunda to the Senate wing of the building, one comes first to the Supreme Court Room, which was abandoned by the upper branch of Congress in 1859, two years after the Representatives took possession of their present hall. The chamber was designed by Latrobe after classic models and in its main features resembles Statuary

* It has been decided to remodel the chamber. It is to be considerably curtailed in size in order to facilitate speaking with effect. The desks are to give place to benches after the fashion of the British House of Commons.

Hall. Along its diameter is a row of marble columns, screening a loggia above which is a gallery. The ample chairs of the nine Justices are ranged upon a railed-in platform, in front of these columns. In the center of the room are large tables for the use of counsel and in the space beyond are seats for spectators. Around the walls are placed busts of former Chief-Justices of the United States, to wit, John Jay, of New York; John Rutledge, of South Carolina; Oliver Ellsworth, of Connecticut; John Marshall, of Virginia; Roger B. Taney, of Maryland; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio; and Morrison R. Waite, of Ohio.

The Senate chamber is similar to that of the House in general plan but somewhat smaller in dimensions. The walls, like those of the House of Representatives, are finished in buff and gold, and embellished with statuary and paintings. The seats of the Senators are arranged in the same manner as those in the other legislative hall, but the station of the President is less imposing than that of the Speaker. The galleries surround the chamber as in the House but are neither so extensive nor so much sought, for the public appears to find the debates of the lower branch the more attractive, although the Senate has been drawing more popular attention to itself in recent years than before.

Opening off the lobby in the rear of the chamber is the beautiful and richly decorated marble

room used by Senators for the reception of callers. Nearby is the President's room which is seldom used. The Chief Executive sometimes comes here to sign bills in the closing hours of a session.

The handsome building of the Library of Congress stands in an open space that forms an extension of the Capitol reservation. The ground was purchased for its present purpose from private owners at a cost of somewhat more than half a million of dollars. Six millions additional were expended upon the structure which was commenced in 1889 and completed eight years later. It is a three-storied edifice with dome, constructed in the Italian Renaissance style of architecture, its walls on every side broken by frequent windows of which there are nearly two thousand in all. The length of the building is one hundred and fifty yards and its breadth approximately, two-thirds as great. It covers three and one-half acres, or the same amount of ground as the Capitol.

The exterior walls are of granite, whilst marble is the principal material of the interior construction. The main feature of the building is a central rotunda, rising to the apex of the dome. This is the public reading room. Two galleries, corresponding to the stories of the building, encircle the walls. The rotunda is surrounded by a parallelogram of galleries and pavilions on two floors. These are devoted to a variety of purposes, but aside

from the contents of the apartments, the building is one extensive art exhibit. Every square inch of surface on wall, ceiling or floor betrays the touch of the decorative artist. Paintings, sculpture, mosaics, carved wood and ornamental metal work meet the eye at every turn. In fact the wealth of decoration is embarrassing and oppressive at first sight and it is not until one's third or fourth visit to the place that the beauty of the surroundings can be fully appreciated. When time has mellowed the colors and dulled the sheen, the Library of Congress will have one of the most enchanting interiors in the world. It is a matter for proud satisfaction that the architects, sculptors and painters who created this fairy palace are all Americans.

The Library of Congress was founded by an Act of the national Legislature which, in 1800, appropriated the sum of five thousand dollars for the purchase of "such books as may be necessary for the use of Congress at the City of Washington." At the time that the library was burnt in the Capitol fire of 1814, only about three thousand volumes had been accumulated. In 1815, the library of Thomas Jefferson, comprising about seven thousand well-selected books, was bought and formed the nucleus of a new national library. From 1817 it was lodged in the Capitol until removed to its present abode. During the closing month of 1851, a fire broke out in the library and destroyed two-

thirds of the books which by that time numbered fifty-five thousand. An appropriation was at once made by Congress to replace as far as possible the lost volumes and to render the hall occupied by the library fireproof. In 1866, the collection, which had expanded greatly, was augmented by the accession of the scientific library of the Smithsonian Institution and in the following year by the purchase of the historical material that had been gathered by Peter Force at the expense of great labor and pains. Further addition was made in 1870, when the copyright business was transferred from the Patent Office to the Library of Congress. As the law requires that two copies of every publication copyrighted must be deposited with the Librarian of Congress, this is a constant source of increase. The various articles received in compliance with the copyright law in the past ten years, such as books, maps, engravings, photographs, etc., have numbered 1,714,328. In the last year alone they amounted to 227,047, being an increase of nearly sixteen thousand over the receipts of the preceding year.

The administration of the Library is under a librarian appointed by the President, subject to confirmation by the Senate. The building and grounds are in charge of a Superintendent, similarly appointed. At present Herbert Putnam, formerly of the Boston Library, holds the former position and Bernard R. Green, the latter. The Superintendent

employs in the building, one hundred and twenty-seven persons and the Librarian, three hundred and twenty-four. In addition to these, the Public Printer details seventy-seven of his employees to work exclusively for the Library of Congress.

In 1897 the Library established a Division of Manuscripts, with the purpose of creating one central place of deposit in which there should be every precaution taken for the safety of the manuscripts and where there should be a force adequate to listing and making the documents accessible to the general public. It is fitted throughout with strictly modern appliances for receiving, handling, and storing manuscript material. The more important collections now in the Library are: 1. The Peter Force collection, rich in colonial and Revolutionary history. 2. A mass of material of a unique description, chiefly relating to the colonial history of Virginia, from the library of Thomas Jefferson. 3. The Rochambeau papers, purchased by Congress in 1883. 4. Naval papers relating to a number of early commanders. 5. Papers of the early Presidents, and many other prominent public men. 6. Diplomatic papers of the Confederate States.

The valuable maps and atlases belonging to the Library form probably the most extensive, certainly the most thoroughly equipped and accessible, collection in the United States. It comprises over

eighty-five thousand maps and thirty-six thousand atlases. The latter are especially noteworthy as including nearly all the geographical works of Ptolemy, Ortelius, Mercator, Blaeu, and others.

Established in 1897, the Music Division has in its custody all the music and books on music acquired by the Library either through copyright or by purchase. The collection amounted in July, 1906, to a grand total of 451,834 volumes, pamphlets, volumes and pieces, of which 15,324 illustrate the history, theory and study of music. The yearly accessions now amount to more than twenty-five thousand volumes, pamphlets and pieces.

The collection of prints numbers upwards of a quarter of a million, covering ever process and representing all schools. There have recently been purchased a collection of twenty-five thousand photographs of paintings and sculpture in European galleries and of foreign architecture.

The Law Library of Congress and the Supreme Court was established by Act of Congress in 1832. It contains over one hundred and twenty thousand volumes and is the largest collection of strictly law books in the world. It includes the most complete single collection of Yearbooks (reports of the cases decided in the English courts during the reigns from Edward I to Henry VIII), many early editions of the classical treatises on Anglo-American law, an almost complete collection

In the Congressional Library



of the first editions of the session laws of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, and it is rapidly developing a good working collection of the modern law literature of all the countries of the world.

The Library was originally established for the use merely of Congress. It is now, however, a general public library, open as freely for reference use as any in the world. Since its removal to the new building, its collections and its service have so extended that it is now familiarly entitled the "National Library." Any person from any place may examine within its walls any book in its possession, and may do this without introduction or credentials. The Library is open from nine in the morning until ten at night on ordinary days. On Sundays and all holidays, excepting the Fourth of July and Christmas Day, also excepting Saturday afternoons during July, August and September, from two o'clock in the afternoon until ten at night.

Books for home use are issued to certain classes designated by statute and, within the District of Columbia, in effect any person engaged in a serious investigation which absolutely requires it.

Of late the Library has also lent books to other libraries in various parts of the country for the convenience of investigators engaged in research calculated to advance the boundaries of knowledge. It also aids the same class of workers by publica-

tions exhibiting material in its collections upon topics under current discussion or within fields of special research. It answers inquiries addressed to it by mail in so far as they can be answered by bibliographic information — that is by reference to printed authorities. The number of such inquiries now exceed ten thousand a year and the Library is widely recognized as a bureau of information upon matters bibliographic.

The Library is but one of a score of Government libraries at Washington. There are in the various Departments and scientific bureaus of the Government collections aggregating over one million volumes. Certain of these are preëminent in the world within the field with which they deal. With them, the Library of Congress is seeking to form an organic system. It will be this system, rather than the Library of Congress alone, which will comprise the National Library of the United States. In number of volumes it would already equal any library in the world.

CHAPTER XV.

CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT.

CONGRESS convened in Washington for the first time, November 17, 1800. A quorum was not secured until a few days later, when the announcement was made to the Executive that the Legislature was prepared to transact business and President Adams proceeded to the Capitol in some state and delivered his "annual message." Thomas Jefferson was then President of the Senate and Theodore Sedgwick, Speaker of the House. Neither legislative body was comfortably provided for at that time nor until the chambers constructed by Latrobe were opened in 1817. In general, however, the members submitted to the inconveniences to which they were subjected with little complaint. The House was distinctively the working body in those days. The Senate kept short hours and did comparatively little, having a much less extensive idea of its functions than at present. Members in both chambers sat with their heads covered, after the fashion of the English parliament, which is derived from a period when doffing

the hat was an act of greater significance than now. Snuff was generally taken and the furniture of the legislative hall included a large receptacle which was kept supplied with a quantity of that stimulant for the free use of members. Each body had its official pen doctor, who repaired the goose-quills of the members and its official sealer, who made their letters and packages fast with wax. It was a day of bare faces and powder and wigs; of decorous and stilted speech; of somber garb and simple life.

In that Congress — the Sixth in succession and the first at the Capitol — were many men who had already made their mark in the country's history and others who were destined to do so. Among the thirty-two Senators were not a few who had fought in the Revolutionary War or had taken an active part in the organization of the Republic. John Armstrong, of New York, had abandoned his books to shoulder a musket whilst yet in his teens. His colleague, Gouverneur Morris, who prided himself upon his likeness to Washington, had been a leading light in the Continental Congress, as also had been Samuel Livermore, of New Hampshire, Jonathan Trumbull, of New Jersey. Stevens Mason, of Virginia, Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky, and Joseph Anderson, of Tennessee, were among the Revolutionary veterans who figured in this Senate.

In the House were the dignified and polished Sedgwick, Nathaniel Macon, of North Carolina, characterized by the caustic John Randolph as "the wisest, purest and best man" he had ever known. From South Carolina, was General Sumter, soon to become a Senator, and from Pennsylvania, Peter Muhlenberg, who, at the instigation of Washington, exchanged a cleric's gown for the uniform of a colonel. Varnum, of Massachusetts, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, Edward Livingstone, of New York, Albert Gallatin, of Philadelphia, John Rutledge, of South Carolina, Littleton Tazewell and John Randolph, of Virginia, were among the notable men who came to Washington as Representatives in the second session of the Sixth Congress.

The first provision of the Constitution is that all legislative powers granted by it "shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The instrument goes on to stipulate that the House shall be composed of members elected every second year by the citizens of the several States and that they shall be residents of the States they represent, shall be twenty-five or more years of age, and shall have been at least seven years citizens of the United States. The representatives are to be apportioned among the States according to population, the entire number not to exceed one for every thirty thou-

sand of the people, and each State to be entitled to at least one representative. The ratio of representation is now more than five times as great as it was in 1789. In the first Congress, New Hampshire had three representatives, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three,—making sixty-five in all. At present there are nearly four hundred representatives and delegates. Delaware, Virginia and Maryland have the same representation as at first, but two members sit for New Hampshire and only four for Connecticut, whilst New York is represented by thirty-four and Pennsylvania by twenty-eight.

Every two years the terms of the members expire and a new House is elected, this two-year period constituting a Congress. Each Congress has two regular sessions and may be called in extra session by the President at any time that he may deem their meeting advisable. The long session begins on the first Monday in December following the expiration of the previous body, and usually continues for six or more months. The short session commences with the first Monday in December of the second year and must terminate at noon on the fourth day of March following. This legal

requirement is frequently the occasion for the perpetration of an interesting fraud. The last days of a Congress are generally very busy ones, and as the closing hours expire it is often evident that the business in hand will require for its completion more time than the body has legitimately at its command. On such occasions, the doorkeeper comes to the aid of the members and as the hands of the clock approach the hour of twelve, takes a stick and puts them back half an hour. This maneuver is repeated as often as necessary. Meanwhile bills are presented and passed with as much rapidity as articles are put up and knocked down in an auction room.

The Constitution provided that Senators are to be chosen by the legislatures of the several States and that each State, regardless of size, should be entitled to two Senators. The term of a Senator's office is six years and elections are so arranged that one-third of the body is chosen every second year. Thus, the Senate has no termination but is a continuous body, like the Supreme Court. The salaries of Senators and Representatives are the same — seven thousand five hundred dollars each — and the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House receive the same amount — twelve thousand dollars yearly.

The character and functions of the two bodies are very different. The House distinctly represents the people, whilst the Senators are representa-

tives of the sovereign States. This at least was the idea of the framers of the Constitution, but it no longer prevails and the rapidly spreading practice of subjecting Senate nominations to primary elections promises to make the upper house a popular assembly before long. The Senate has the exclusive privilege of ratifying treaties with foreign powers and the appointments of the President are subject to its confirmation. The House, on the other hand, has the exclusive right of originating appropriation bills.

The business of both branches of Congress is performed mainly by the various committees, which have meeting rooms scattered all over the Capitol building. The committees investigate the subjects of bills submitted to them, hold hearings, summon witnesses, give the matter of each bill their best consideration, and report their conclusions to the body to which they belong. Committee reports are usually acted upon and debates in either chamber have comparatively little effect upon legislation, although the popular idea is that the speeches made upon the floor decide the action of the members. The Speaker has the appointment of the several committees and as the majority of every committee — or at least of every one of importance — is made up of members from the party in power, the Speaker's control of legislation is great. Every Congress includes a handful of

New Senate Offices, Union Station in Background



men of exceptional ability in each chamber and these are generally responsible for the final action of momentous questions.

The proceedings in House and Senate are much the same and resemble those of all parliamentary bodies. The latter has the reputation of being the more dignified and orderly body, though some of the speeches delivered and scenes enacted upon its floor in recent years have been calculated to rob it of that distinction. The House is none too decorous. Visitors during a debate are apt to be disappointed and surprised at the confusion that often prevails when several members at once seek recognition by the Speaker. The general attitude, however, is one of listlessness. Whilst one is addressing the House, others are conversing, writing letters, reading newspapers, walking the aisles, or lying back in their chairs with feet placed upon their desks. Now and again, an exchange of unprintable compliments, or even a fist fight, relieves the monotony of the proceedings.

The maintenance of the national legislature is a very expensive matter. The annual salaries and mileage amount to about two and one half millions of dollars. The staff of the Senate is numerous and includes a secretary, a chief clerk, a financial clerk, and sixteen under-clerks, with aggregate salaries of about fifty thousand dollars. There is a librarian with an assistant and a keeper of the

stationery with two assistants, whose pay amounts to eighty-five hundred dollars yearly. There are four official reporters who are paid six thousand two hundred dollars each annually. Then there are the sergeant-at-arms, the doorkeeper, with a number of assistants, the bookkeepers, postmaster and deputy, and several mail carriers. These with incidental expenses will make a total approximating half a million of dollars.

The expenses of the House of Representatives are very much greater than those of the Senate. The chief clerk of the House and his assistants have salaries aggregating nearly thirty thousand dollars. The Speaker has a private secretary and two clerks. There is a doorkeeper with something like fifty assistants and messengers under him, whose salaries amount to fifty thousand dollars. There are a host of committee clerks and a legion of pages. The sergeant-at-arms has a numerous staff. There are several official stenographers, a postmaster and assistant, with ten or a dozen clerks, an "upholsterer and locksmith," and a "conductor of the elevator," besides other attaches. The stationery and newspapers for the House cost about fifty thousand a year, ten thousand is paid for the repair of furniture, and the expenses of special committees run into another fifty thousand or more. If the amount of salaries and mileage is added to that of the miscellaneous expenses, we

have a sum approximating two and a half millions of dollars.

Each annual session of Congress, then, costs the country in excess of three and one half millions of dollars and it may easily be seen that our administrative work, even before the reforms instituted by the Keep Commission, was performed much more economically than our legislation. If we reduce these figures to a computation of the actual cost of sessions, it appears that for each day Congress sits the country is called on to pay fifty thousand dollars.

The daily sessions begin at noon — most of the members having previously spent some hours in committee — and continue until four or five o'clock. Occasionally, press of business, or some party maneuver will occasion a night session, but these are seldom held except towards the close of a term. Each chamber is opened daily by its chaplain with prayer, after which follows what is called "the morning hour." This is devoted to the reading of the journal, to the reception of the committee reports, to the introduction of bills and to their reference to the appropriate committees. Following the morning hour, bills are taken from the calendar and considered until adjournment.

The official reporters of Congress take down the speeches and proceedings of each session in either chamber. These are afterwards printed in the offi-

cial publication styled *The Congressional Record*. The printed record of speeches is supposed to be a verbatim report but is actually very far from such. Proof-sheets are submitted to members, who make liberal revisions in them. Not a few of the speeches that appear in the *Record* have never been uttered, for Congressmen commonly secure "permission to print," when all they have to do is to send the matter to the printer and mail copies of the publication to their constituents. The *Record* purports to be an account of the previous day's proceedings, but members frequently withhold their addresses in order to secure a good position for them at a later date and the publication runs for several weeks after the legislature has adjourned.

Formerly the literal reporting of speeches in the *Congressional Record* was considered a matter of much greater importance than it now is and one of the many exciting incidents connected with Congress turned upon this point. One day in April, 1860, Roger Pryor, of Virginia, taxed a member from Wisconsin, named Potter, with making changes in the record of a speech delivered by the latter on the floor of the House. The accusation led to a spirited dialogue between the two in the House and to a subsequent challenge by Pryor. Potter accepted and named bowie knives as the weapons. To this Pryor demurred on the ground that they were barbarous and inhuman. Potter

rejoined that in his opinion, the whole system of duelling was barbarous and inhuman but, if he was to be forced into a fight, he proposed to place himself on equal terms with his adversary. As the objection was repeated, Lander, Potter's second, offered himself without restriction to Pryor, in the place of his principal. The challenger disclaimed any quarrel with Lander and the matter fell through.

The "third house," as the lobby is sometimes called, has been in existence since the inception of Congress. With the growth of publicity and public knowledge of affairs, and the increasing honesty of members, it has become much less extensive and effective than it used to be. Still, all the most important commercial and financial interests of the country are represented at Washington by persons whose business it is to influence the passage of legislation or to prevent it. Lobbying requires talents of no mean order and it is a highly remunerative calling. Among the most successful lobbyists have been women, ex-members of Congress, and retired army officers of high rank. The lobbyist does not depend upon mere persuasion to gain his ends. Various influences are brought to bear upon committee-men and other members, but it is doubtful if direct bribery is ever resorted to in these days. The lynx-eyed press has been the chief agency in working the decline of lobbying in

the national legislature and jobbery in the national administration. It is customary to talk of graft as rampant at the present time but a study of the past records of Congress will satisfy anyone that the public men of to-day are greatly superior to their predecessors in the matters of integrity and honest service. So also will a fair comparison show that we have to-day as talented men in office as we ever had. The historian of the future will give to some of our living statesmen and administrators much higher place in our history than we are willing to accord them.

The Constitution provided for the creation of the Supreme Court and the First Congress passed an Act organizing the body with a Chief-Justice and five Associate-Justices, to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. President Washington appointed John Jay, the greatest jurist of the time in this country, to be Chief-Justice, and with him were associated William Cushing, of Massachusetts, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, John Blair, of Virginia, James Iredell, of North Carolina, and John Rutledge, of South Carolina. John Tucker, of Boston, was the first Clerk of the Supreme Court.

The first session of the Supreme Court was held in New York, on the first Monday in February, 1790. In the course of the month several famous advocates were admitted to practice at its bar,

among them being Theodore Sedgwick, Fisher Ames and Robert Morris. The requirements were that they should have been in practice before the State Supreme Courts for three or more years, and that their private and professional characters should be fair. It was not until one year later that a case was brought before the Court.

The Supreme Court moved with the Government to Philadelphia, in 1791, and again accompanied it to Washington, in 1801, holding its first session on the first Monday of February in that year, in a basement room of the Capitol directly beneath the present chamber.

Previous to the Civil War, the docket seldom contained as many as one hundred cases. Now it commonly has more than one thousand entries at the time the Court enters into session. These are for the most part, appeals from the findings of the Circuit Courts. Original cases before the Supreme Court are comparatively few. The presentation of a case to the Supreme Court requires printed arguments and briefs and a printed record of the proceedings of the lower court involved. Five days of the week are devoted to hearing arguments. On Saturdays the judges meet in consultation and on Mondays their decisions are delivered.

If the Court is in session, the visitor will find the place pervaded by an atmosphere of quiet dig-

nity. The learned members of the highest tribunal in the land are ranged four on either side of the venerable Chief-Justice Fuller. A lawyer of national reputation is, perhaps, addressing an argument to the Court. These arbiters — for such they essentially are — listen attentively and occasionally one or the other asks a question or interjects a remark. Meanwhile the attorney who is presenting his case may talk on for two hours and with the special permission of the Court, for longer, whilst the listening layman votes it the driest speech that he has ever heard. Eloquence is at a discount here and rhetoric valueless. Cold fact and legal logic are all that count. Those nine grave, sable-gowned men will study the case and decide its merits from the matter-of-fact printed page and bring all their learning and experience to bear upon it without consideration for the opposing counsel or their respective clients. Each of the nine is an acknowledged specialist in some particular branches of law and to him are assigned the cases that come within his peculiar province. All meet for consultation on Saturday, when each Justice presents to his fellows the conclusions that he has reached on the cases submitted to his examination. Argument follows and finally the entire bench is polled, beginning with the youngest, the Chief-Justice having the deciding voice in the event of a tie. The task of writing the final opin-

ion of the Court is then imposed upon one of the members. After being approved by the body, the decision is read on Monday in open court and becomes the most authoritative legal diction of the land.

It is safe to say that the Justices of the Supreme Court work as hard as any men in our hard-working community. The hours actually spent on the bench are, perhaps, the easiest portions of their day. Each performs what the average lawyer would deem a good day's work at his home every evening and forenoon, keeping a secretary busy. When they separate for the summer vacation, their baggage is bulky with the papers in important cases needing more than ordinary consideration. They carry a fearful weight of responsibility upon their shoulders, for the most momentous issues often turn upon their decisions, from which there is no appeal.

It may be said, with truth, that this august institution holds in its hand the destiny of the nation. It possesses extraordinary power — greater than that reposed in any other body in the world — greater than that of the President of the United States, or, indeed, of most constitutional monarchs. The veto of the President may be overridden by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and neither King Edward nor the Kaiser would dare persistently to oppose the pronounced action of their people's rep-

representatives. But the Supreme Court may nullify a measure of Congress and its decision is final. It is very doubtful if the framers of the instrument which created the Supreme Court designed to give it this vital power over the acts of Congress, but popular assent has long since affirmed it.

Upon the judgment of these nine men, or a majority of them, depend the most momentous issues in our national affairs. When, in a speech delivered at St. Louis in 1907, President Roosevelt stated that the fate and ultimate effect of his policy must rest largely upon the question whether the Constitution is to be construed broadly or otherwise, his thoughts and his hopes must have been centered upon the future dicta of the Supreme Court. With them it lies to make the reformative legislation instigated by the present Administration, permanent or to render it of no avail. When this great question comes before these nine eminent jurists, it will divide them more sharply than ever before, but we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that whatever the decision it will be the outcome of honest conviction, deep learning and exhaustive reflection.

Melville Weston Fuller was appointed Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court by President Cleveland, nearly twenty years ago. Previous to his elevation to the highest legal position in the land, he had practised law in Illinois for more than thirty years without once having connected himself with a crim-

inal case. He had been an ardent Democrat, but, of course, a member of the Supreme Court has no party political affiliations. Chief-Justice Fuller is seventy-four years of age, having been born within a few months of Justice Harlan.

John Marshall Harlan has been a member of the Supreme Court for thirty years, which is eleven years longer than any of his colleagues has served. He was an active leader in the Whig party of Kentucky before the Republican party was formed. He raised a Union regiment in the Civil War and was on the point of being gazetted brigadier when the death of his father prompted his resignation. He was a member of the Louisiana Commission that put Hayes in the White House and by that President was appointed to the Supreme Bench.

David Josiah Brewer was born, seventy years ago, at Smyrna, Asia Minor, where his father was stationed as a missionary. His mother was a sister of that famous quartet of Field brothers, one of whom preceded him in the Supreme Court. Kansas claims Justice Brewer and for many years before he came to Washington he served that State as a judge of various courts. His present position is due to appointment by President Harrison in 1889.

The only Associate-Justice from a Confederate State is Edward Douglass White of Louisiana, who fought on the side of the South before he was

twenty years of age. Justice White finished his education at Georgetown University, practised law in his native State and became a member of its Supreme Court. He was afterwards sent to the United States Senate and soon secured recognition as one of the most able Democrats in that body. He was appointed to his present office thirteen years ago and is younger than most of his colleagues, having completed the sixty-second year of his life in November, 1907.

Rufus W. Peckham is the son of a celebrated New York Judge in whose office he received his legal training. He was a member of the New York Court of Appeals when, twelve years ago, his appointment by President Cleveland to the Supreme Court of the United States was the occasion of an historic contest between the Senate and the Chief Executive. Justice Peckham is sixty-nine years of age and may this year, if he desires, retire on full pay.

Joseph McKenna, of California, is the sole representative of the Far West in the Supreme Court. Justice McKenna was born in Philadelphia, sixty-four years ago, but went to his adoptive State when a boy. He served in Congress for four successive terms and resigned to become a judge of the United States Circuit Court. This position he gave up to enter President McKinley's Cabinet as Attorney-

General. He has served in his present capacity for ten years.

Oliver Wendell Holmes bears a name that is familiar wherever the English language is spoken. Although he did not embrace his father's professions of medicine and literature, he inherited his father's spontaneous wit and humor. One month after graduation at Harvard, he entered the Union army as lieutenant and at the end of the War had several wounds and a coloneley to his credit. After practising law for a few years in Massachusetts, he became the editor of the *American Law Review* and afterwards professor of law at his Alma Mater. He was a member of the Supreme Court of his State when President Roosevelt appointed him, five years ago, to his present position, in the sixty-first year of his age.

President McKinley brought his friend and fellow-townsmen, William R. Day, into sudden prominence by including him in his first Cabinet. Justice Day is the son of a celebrated Ohio judge, under whom and at the University of Michigan he received his law education. His appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States in 1903, was by President Roosevelt. Justice Day is younger than any of his colleagues with the single exception of Justice Moody, having been born in 1849.

William Henry Moody, like Justice Holmes, is

of Massachusetts, and a graduate of Harvard. He has filled his present position for hardly more than a year and is the youngest member of the body in point of service as well as in the matter of age, being but fifty-four. Previous to his elevation to the Supreme bench, Justice Moody had served in four successive Congresses and had been Secretary of the Navy and Attorney-General in President Roosevelt's Cabinet.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

THE wonderful growth of this nation in the course of one hundred years is strikingly evidenced in the great expansion of its administrative machinery. At the opening of the nineteenth century, there were five Departments in operation. Of these, the Treasury employed seventy-five persons. The combined forces of the State, War, Navy, and Post-Office numbered no more than sixty-one, and four persons were employed in the office of the Attorney-General. There are now eight Departments, a number of independent bureaus and commissions, and an office force of thirty-five thousand in Washington alone. The administrative business of the Government has increased enormously during the past decade and there are prospects of continued expansion in new directions. It is the tendency of the age to impose upon government functions which our grandfathers never dreamed of associating with it. Thus the Administration now exercises a wide control in matters of commerce and finance, labor and transportation.

It also operates with greatly extended scope in most of the matters that have always been recognized as within its purview. It enters upon new enterprises of gigantic proportions, such as the Panama Canal, the reclamation of the arid and swamp lands, and the improvement of inland waterways. And, in addition to the extensive and varied business entailed by all these utilities, is the work of governing the outlying territories of Porto Rico and the Philippines, and of policing Cuba.

The administrative government of the country is in the hands of the President and the nine heads of Departments who form his Cabinet and act as his advisers. Of these the Secretary of State is considered the senior and occupies in a sense a position analagous to that of the prime minister in a monarchical government.

The "Department of Foreign Affairs" was organized in 1781, with Robert R. Livingston, of New York, as Secretary. The Department was under constant instructions from Congress and was not permitted to take any independent action. As a matter of fact, Congress managed the foreign relations of the country, appointing committees, as occasion arose, to consider specific questions. It is both interesting and instructive to compare the reports of the recent "Committee on Departmental Methods" and a Congressional committee ap-

State, War and Navy Building



pointed in 1788 to investigate the condition of the "Department of Foreign Affairs." From the latter we learn that the Department occupied two rooms, one the Secretary's, the other that of his deputy and clerks. The daily transactions were entered in a minute book and subsequently copied into a journal. The letters to ministers and others abroad were entered in a book called the "Book of Foreign Letters," such parts as required secrecy being in cipher. The domestic correspondence was entered in the "American Letter Book." The "Book of Reports" contained the Secretary's reports to Congress. There was also a book in which was recorded the passports issued to vessels, and a volume of "Foreign Commissions," besides a "Book of Accounts" and one containing Acts of Congress relating to the Department. The papers of the old Committee of Foreign Affairs and the correspondence of our ministers abroad were properly taken care of. The office was open for business constantly from nine o'clock in the morning until six o'clock at night, and either the deputy or a clerk remained in the office while the others were at dinner. "Upon the whole," the committee found, "neatness, method, and perspicacity throughout the Department."

Upon the assembling of the new Government under the Constitution, the first business taken up,

after the election of the President and Vice-President, was that of providing executive departments, that for foreign affairs being considered before any others. The bill which passed in Congress a few months later created a Department much the same in duties as that already in existence and John Jay was continued at the head of it. A later Act of the same year, however, provided that the "Executive department, denominated the Department of Foreign Affairs, shall hereafter be denominated the Department of State, and the principal officer shall hereafter be called the Secretary of State." The secretary was required to receive and publish the laws of the United States; to be the custodian of the seal of the United States; to authenticate copies of records and papers, and to receive all the records and papers of the office of the late Secretary of Congress, except such as related to the Treasury and War Departments. The scope of the Department was thus greatly enlarged and it became the most important of the Government offices under the President. Almost immediately following this enlargement of the functions of the Department, Jefferson assumed charge of it and so became virtually the first Secretary of the Department as we have it.

"From the beginning the Department of State was more closely connected with the President than any other Executive Department, Washington not

only referred to it all official letters bearing upon its business, but made it the repository of the drafts of most of his letters. The volume of business of the Government rendered it possible at that period for the President to attend personally to matters which are now rarely, if ever, brought to his personal attention. It was Jefferson's custom to consult his chief frequently. He sent him the rough drafts of his letters for approval or correction, and carried to him all communications of consequence. The foreign ministers to the United States were not permitted to correspond directly with the President, but were required to address the Secretary of State. This rule had been laid down before Jefferson's appointment, when Washington declined direct correspondence with Moustier, the French Minister, and Moustier's successor, the notorious Genet, received forcible reminder of it in 1793."

The Department in its early years had charge of a number of affairs that have since passed out of its hands. Among these were the business of the Territories, superintendence of the census, granting of patents and copyrights, and several matters of a judicial character.

The machinery of the Department of State, as at present constituted, is officially described as follows:

The Secretary of State is charged, under the

President, with the duties appertaining to correspondence with the public ministers and the consuls of the United States, and with the representatives of foreign powers accredited to the United States; and to negotiations of whatever character relating to the foreign affairs of the United States. He is also the medium of correspondence between the President and the chief executives of the several States of the United States; he has the custody of the Great Seal of the United States, and countersigns and affixes such seal to all executive proclamations, to various commissions, and to warrants for the extradition of fugitives from justice. He is regarded as the first in rank among the members of the Cabinet. He is also the custodian of the treaties made with foreign States, and of the laws of the United States. He grants and issues passports, and exequaturs to foreign consuls in the United States are issued from his office. He publishes the laws and resolutions of Congress, amendments to the Constitution, and proclamations declaring the admission of new States to the Union. He is also charged with certain annual reports to Congress relating to commercial information received from diplomatic and consular officers of the United States.

The Assistant Secretary of State becomes the Acting Secretary of State in the absence of the Secretary. Under the organization of the Depart-

ment, the Assistant Secretary, Second Assistant Secretary, and Third Assistant Secretary are charged with the immediate supervision of all correspondence with the diplomatic and consular officers, and are intrusted with the preparation of the correspondence upon any questions arising in the course of public business that may be assigned to them by the Secretary. The Chief Clerk has general charge and supervision of the clerks and employees and of the business of the Department.

When the Department of Foreign Affairs was first organized, it took possession of a small house in Philadelphia, at 13 South Sixth Street, leased from Peter Du Ponceau. When the Department moved with the Government to New York, in 1785, it found quarters at Faunce's Tavern, in the long room where Washington took farewell of his generals at the close of the Revolutionary War. It remained here for more than three years and then moved to a house owned by Philip Livingston, on the west side of Broadway. Later it went into a house on the other side of the street almost opposite to Livingston's.

Upon the return of the Government to Philadelphia, the Department first took up its quarters on Market Street, about three blocks from the river, then on the southeast corner of Arch and Sixth Streets, next in North Alley, and finally at the northeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

In May, 1801, the offices of the Department were established in the large brick building on Seventeenth Street, opposite G, in Washington. Here they remained until the close of 1819, save for an interval of about eighteen months, when they occupied a building on the south side of G Street, near Eighteenth, pending the repair of the former building which had been severely damaged by the British troops in the invasion of 1814.

In January, 1820, the offices were moved to the corner of Fifteenth Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, the site now covered by the north wing of the Treasury Building, and there the Department remained until October, 1866, when it leased the premises then belonging, as now, to the Washington Orphan Asylum, on Fourteenth Street, near S Street. It remained there until July, 1875, when it was removed to its present quarters, which constitute the south wing of the State, War, and Navy Building.

The first Congress under the Constitution passed an Act, in 1789, establishing the Department of the Treasury, for the transaction of all the financial business of the Government which had previously been intrusted to commissioners. Alexander Hamilton was its first Secretary.

When the Government took up its seat in Washington, the only building ready for administrative

purposes was that designed for the use of the Treasury, which occupied a site on the south front of the present edifice. It was a plain, two-storied structure of brick and stone, with an attic and basement, and contained thirty rooms. This building was destroyed by fire in 1833, and the ruins were removed to permit of the erection of a new structure, which is the central portion of the present edifice. The original building was in exterior plan the counterpart of that subsequently erected for the State Department on the site of the present north front of the Treasury building, and which was not removed until after the Civil War.

To the building completed by Robert Mills in 1841, it was found necessary fifteen years later to add wings and these, designed by Thomas U. Walter, were finished in 1869, at which time the accumulated cost of the building had amounted to seven millions. Although severely simple in style and not advantageously placed, it is one of the most imposing public buildings at the capital. It has, despite its enormous proportions and comparatively recent construction, already become too small to accommodate the rapidly increasing business of the Department.

The Secretary of the Treasury is charged by the law with the management of the national finances. He prepares plans for the improvement of the revenue and for the support of the public credit; super-

intends the collection of the revenue, and directs the forms of keeping and rendering the public accounts and of making returns; grants warrants for all moneys drawn from the Treasury in pursuance of appropriations made by law, and for the payment of moneys into the Treasury; and annually submits to Congress estimates of the probable revenues and disbursements of the Government. He also controls the construction of public buildings; the coinage and printing of money; the administration of the Life-Saving, Revenue-Cutter, and the Public Health and Marine Hospital branches of the public service, and furnishes generally such information as may be required by either branch of Congress on all matters pertaining to the foregoing.

The routine work of the Secretary's Office is transacted in the offices of the Supervising Architect, Director of the Mint, Director of Engraving and Printing, Surgeon-General of the Public Health and Marine Hospital Service, General Superintendent of the Life-Saving Service and in the following divisions: Bookkeeping and warrants, appointments, customs, public moneys, loans and currency, revenue cutter stationery, printing, mails and files, special agents and miscellaneous.

After the Capitol, there is no place in Washington that offers greater attractions to the casual sight-seer than the Treasury. The numerous daily

Treasury Department



visitors appear to find a peculiar pleasure in merely witnessing the payment of large sums in the Cash Room, or of handling a bundle of redeemed and worthless notes in the vaults. There is, however, a great deal of interest to be seen in the vast building and in the subsidiary building of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. The Secret Service quarters used to be an important point in the guides' itinerary when that division maintained a somewhat sensational exhibit of portraits of celebrated counterfeiters, together with specimens of their tools and handiwork. Chief Wilkie wisely suppressed this display and the place is now hardly distinguishable from an ordinary business office.

The Treasury is carefully guarded. There is a regular force of something like seventy-five watchmen inside the building. These, who are all honorably discharged men from the Army and Navy, maintain a constant patrol, day and night. The building is also watched on the outside and in the guard-room at the main entrance is a force always ready to respond to a call. The Captain of the Watch can communicate instantly with the Chief of Police, and with Fort Myer. Arms are stored in many parts of the building, so that, in case of necessity, a thousand or more of the employees could be armed in ten minutes. The Captain can be summoned by electric call to all the important rooms of the building. At six o'clock the building

is cleared of everyone but the watch and after that hour only three persons can gain admittance — the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the latter's Chief Clerk.

Shortly before the removal of the Government to Washington, the Commissioners in charge of the public works in the District began the construction of a building similar in size and appearance to the Treasury, near the southwest corner of the White House grounds. It was first known as the War Office and in later years as the Navy Department building. Pending its completion, the War Department leased the three-story house on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue, between Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, almost opposite the tavern kept by William O'Neil, the father of the famous "Peggy." The Department had been but a short while in possession of these quarters when a fire broke out and destroyed a large part of the records. This was in November, 1800, and when, in the following January, a fire — which, however, did little damage,—occurred in the Treasury, Mathew Lyon, son of a member of Congress and editor of the *Cabinet*, in the columns of that paper charged the Federalists with having instigated the setting fire to the public offices with the purpose of destroying evidences of their maladministration.

The present State, War and Navy building cov-

ers the site of the old War Office. It is the finest office building in Washington and probably the largest in the world. It has, however, been incapable for some years past, of adequately accommodating the three Departments which share it and is not now, in fact, more than large enough for one of them.

The Secretary of War has charge of all matters pertaining to the support, transportation and maintenance of the Army. He also has supervision of the United States Military Academy at West Point and of military education in the Army, of the Board of Ordinance and Fortification, of the various battle-field commissions, and of the publication of the official records of the War of the Rebellion.

He has charge of all matters relating to national defense and seacoast fortifications, army ordinance, river and harbor improvements, the prevention of obstructions to navigation, and the establishment of harbor lines, and all plans and locations of bridges authorized by Congress to be constructed over the navigable waters of the United States require his approval. He also has charge of the establishment or abandonment of military posts, and of all matters relating to leases, revocable licenses, and all other privileges upon lands under the control of the War Department.

These are very extensive duties but, during the

present Administration, very onerous additions have been made to them from time to time. To Secretary Taft was intrusted the great task of organizing the Panama Canal enterprise and the delicate and difficult one of restoring order in Cuba. Attached to the War Office is the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to which is assigned all matters pertaining to the civil government in the island possessions of the United States, the Philippine Islands being the only ones so subject at the present time.

The Attorney-General, who is at the head of the Department of Justice, is the chief law officer of the Government. He represents the United States in all matters involving legal questions. He extends advice and opinion when called upon to the President, or the heads of other Executive Departments, on questions of law arising in the administration of their respective offices. He appears for the Government in the Supreme Court in cases of special importance. He exercises a general superintendence and direction over United States attorneys and marshals in all judicial districts in the United States and Territories, and provides special counsel for the United States whenever required by any Department of the Government.

The Solicitor-General assists the Attorney-General in the performance of his general duties and, by special provision of law, in case of a vacancy

in the office of Attorney-General, or his absence or inability, exercises all those duties. Under the direction of the Attorney-General, he has charge of the business of the Government in the Supreme Court, and is assisted in the preparation and argument of cases therein by the Assistant Attorneys-General. Although it is seldom done, the Solicitor-General may, if the Attorney-General think fit, be sent to attend to the interests of the United States in any court, or elsewhere.

In addition to the Assistant Attorneys-General, there are several Solicitors whose duties are to look after the interests of certain specified Departments. For instance, the Solicitor for the Department of State, is the chief law officer of that Department, and advises the Secretary upon questions of municipal and international law, passes upon claims of citizens of the United States against foreign governments, upon applications for the extradition of criminals and various other matters. The Solicitor for the Treasury takes cognizance of all frauds on the customs revenue, he has supervision of the collection of certain moneys due the United States. As the law officer of the Treasury, many matters are referred to him growing out of the customs, banking, navigation, and registry laws, and so on.

The Post-Office Department is a branch of the Government that comes more closely in touch with

the people than any other and is, probably, the one upon the efficiency of which their general welfare and prosperity are most dependable. It may also be described as the Department which, through its countless ramifications transacts the greatest volume of business.

Consider the enormous extent of the yearly operations of the Post-Office Department of to-day and think of Abraham Bradley writing with satisfaction to his chief from Washington in June, 1800, that he has leased a three-story house that will amply accommodate the General Post-Office, the Washington office, the Postmaster-General's office, besides housing his entire family. This house stood where the south wing of the building, until recent years occupied by the General Post-Office, was erected.

The Postmaster-General has the direction and management of the Post-Office Department. He appoints all officers and employees of the Department, except the four Assistant Postmasters-General and the purchasing agent, who are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Postmaster-General appoints all postmasters whose compensation does not exceed one thousand dollars, higher appointments being made by the President. The head of the Department makes postal treaties with foreign governments, by and with the consent of the President,

awards and executes contracts, and directs the management of the domestic and foreign mail service.

Benjamin Franklin, who has been called "the father of our post-office," was appointed Postmaster-General by the Continental Congress and authorized to establish offices from Maine to Georgia. In 1789, Washington made Samuel Osgood, of Massachusetts, the first Postmaster-General of the United States. At that time there were but seventy-five post-offices in operation. The rate of postage was six cents for thirty miles and up to twenty-five cents for four hundred and fifty miles. To-day there are, in the United States, upwards of sixty-two thousand post-offices and an equal number of postmasters. About one thousand million letters and postal cards are carried every month and the losses and errors are an infinitesimal proportion. The expenditures of the Department in 1906 were \$178,449,776.89 and the receipts \$167,932,782.95. The average cost of the service to our ninety millions of people was something less than twenty cents for the year.

The history of the rural service is especially interesting. The first route was established in the autumn of 1896, being in the nature of an experiment. During that fiscal year, in which the postal deficit was eleven and a half millions, fifteen thousand were expended upon rural delivery. For the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1907, the expendi-

tures for rural delivery were twenty-seven million dollars, and the postal deficit showed a decrease as compared with that of 1897 of about four and a half million dollars, the total being about seven millions. This seems to be indisputable evidence that whilst the expenses incurred in the rural delivery are enormous, the system increases the receipts sufficiently to show a net profit, aside from which its beneficial effects are beyond computation in dollars and cents. The isolation of the remote districts of our country has been broken; the people who inhabit them are brought into daily touch with the world; they get the current news where they formerly never received it until a week or more old; as an educational and enlightening agency its influence can not be estimated.

The present administration of the Post-Office bids fair to be a notable one, for it is highly probable that it will effect several extensive and important improvements of the service, including the introduction of a parcels post system and post-office savings banks.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EXECUTIVE GOVERNMENT.

ALTHOUGH the revolting colonies had a very creditable fleet during the Revolution, it was under the direction of a committee of the Continental Congress, and the Navy Department was not organized until nine years after the conclusion of the federal compact. In the earliest years of the Government, naval affairs were intrusted to the Secretary of War but no attempt was made to create a fighting force until 1794, when the difficulties growing out of the depredations of Algerian pirates prompted Congress to order the construction of six frigates. The strongest influence in the establishment of our Navy was, however, that of George Washington. A large and prosperous merchant marine was rapidly developing, when he impressed upon both branches of Congress the necessity of protecting it with a naval force, or, to use his own words: "To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable . . . to secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval

force, organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression."

The Navy Department was finally organized in 1798, and almost immediately afterward, the Marine Corps was created. The new Department was sadly neglected under the early Presidents, and the glory it won in the War of 1812 was due entirely to personnel and despite inferior ships and equipment. One hundred years have passed, and the United States now possesses a Navy second in fighting strength only to that of Great Britain. The six frigates and the handful of half-trained sailors have expanded into a force of three hundred vessels and forty thousand officers and men.

Under the direction of the Secretary and Assistant Secretary of the Navy are eight great bureaus, each charged with highly important work and each headed by an officer especially qualified by experience for the particular duties assigned to him. Of these executive divisions, the bureau of Navigation is admittedly the most important and the charge of it is one of the highest honors open to the service. It has jurisdiction of the personnel of the Navy, including the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and directs the recruiting and training of the force. Through this bureau the movements of the ships are controlled and orders to the officers issued. It keeps the records of the squadrons,

ships, officers, and men, and performs a variety of minor administrative duties.

The Bureau of Construction and Repair, as its name implies, is responsible for the proper construction and maintenance of the ships and what a landsman might call their fixtures, except for the steam machinery and armament, which are in the hands of the bureaus of Steam Engineering and Ordnance, respectively. The Bureau of Equipment furnishes the distinctive nautical fittings, such as flags, sails, anchors, instruments, searchlights, and a hundred other items. The navy-yards, naval stations and dry docks are in the care of the Bureau of Yards and Docks. The Bureau of Medicine and Surgery attends to the health of the personnel ashore and afloat, and manages the various naval hospitals. The Bureau of Supplies and Accounts purchases the greater part of the supplies needed for the Navy.

In addition to these eight bureaus, performing the most important work of the Navy Department, there are several other branches. The Judge Advocate General, who maintains an extensive office for the conduct of his business, is the legal adviser of the Department and the director of prosecutions of all offenders against naval law and regulations. The Commandant of the Marine Corps has a separate jurisdiction which he exercises subject to

responsibility to the Secretary of the Navy. Highly important functions of an advisory nature are exercised by the General Board which is composed of officers of the greatest ability and the most extensive experience, with Admiral Dewey at its head. The Board is intrusted with the preparation of naval campaigns, contemplating the co-operation of our military forces and coast defense agencies. It is looked to for advice as to the best distribution of the fleet, its preparation for, and maintenance in war, the type and number of the ships that should compose it and the proper location and equipment of coaling and supply stations.

Each year the Secretary of the Navy, after having taken counsel with the General Board and the various bureau chiefs, recommends to Congress certain specific extensions of our naval force. He states how many and what kind of ships we should, in his opinion, commence to build, and very often submits designs. Following the authorization of Congress, the proper bureaus, acting in conjunction, prepare detailed plans. Then the private shipyards of the country and the armor-plate manufacturers are invited to make proposals for the material and construction. Meanwhile, and at any stage of the process of building, Congress may reconsider the plans and alter them. The control of Congress in this exhaustive degree is the weakest feature of our naval system and places us at a

distinct disadvantage with the European powers, where the legislative body satisfies itself with voting the money for naval construction without asking for details of the proposed expenditure. Our plans are, of course, patent to the world, but this is not the worst consequence of the interference of Congress in the constructive work. It is the direct cause of the lack of homogeneity in our naval force and also the cause of delays. Great Britain, Germany, or France, can turn out a vessel of war, especially a battleship, in much shorter time than we require for the construction of a similar ship. They build their vessels in classes, the component members of which are practically counterparts of one another, with advantages that are obvious.

The Department of the Interior was created by Act of Congress in 1849, with extensive functions which have, however, been greatly enlarged in recent years. The organic act provided that the Secretary of the Interior should "exercise and perform all the acts of supervision and appeal in regard to the office of Commissioner of Patents," then exercised by the Secretary of State; that he should "perform all the duties in relation to the General Land Office," then discharged by the Secretary of the Treasury; that he should "exercise the supervisory and appellate powers," then reposed in the Secretary of War, "in relation to all the acts of

the Commissioner of Indian Affairs;" that he should exercise the supervisory and appellate powers," then exercised by the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments, "in relation to all the acts of the Commissioner of Patents;" that he should assume the then authority of the "Secretary of State in relation to all acts of marshals and others in taking and returning the Census of the United States;" that to him should be transferred the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury "over the lead and other mines of the United States, and over the accounts of the agents thereof." The numerous interests confided to the Secretary of the Interior have not only enormously expanded since that time but additional authority and duties have been conferred upon him and he now has in his Department several bureaus which individually entail a greater amount of business than that of the entire Department at the time of its creation.

The present functions of the Secretary of the Interior are thus officially described: He is charged with the supervision of public business relating to patents for inventions; pensions and bounty lands; the public lands and surveys; the Indians; railroads; the Geological Survey; the Hot Springs Reservation, Arkansas; Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming, and the Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant parks, California; forest reservations; distribution of appropriations for agricul-

tural and mechanical colleges in the States and Territories; the custody and distribution of certain public documents; and supervision of certain hospitals and eleemosynary institutions in the District of Columbia. He is also charged with the exercise of certain powers and duties in relation to the Territories of the United States.

An enormous and highly important business is transacted by the Land Office, which has recently been thoroughly reorganized and placed in charge of a new Commissioner. The Geological Survey is an extensive division performing the most valuable services to the country and the world at large. It embraced, until recently, the Reclamation Service. That bureau is now segregated and its splendid work of transforming the arid lands of the West into cultivable areas is being extensively carried on. It is probable that when the Government undertakes, as it surely will at no distant date, the vast enterprise of reclaiming the swamp lands of the country, the task will be committed to the Reclamation Service. The project of improving our inland waterways, to which the Administration is practically pledged, will necessitate the formation of another large bureau and this will, in all likelihood be added to the Interior Department.

Next to the Post-Office, the Agricultural Department is that in which the general public is most

intimately interested. President Washington suggested the creation of an administrative branch of the Government to take care of the interests of the farmers, and Franklin set the example, to representatives of America abroad, of sending home seeds and cuttings. In 1839, the practice had become so extensive that Henry L. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, induced Congress to make an experimental appropriation for the distribution of the articles thus acquired and for the publication of agricultural statistics. The trial was successful and the work has been maintained ever since.

In his message to Congress, December 7, 1796, which was full of important suggestion, Washington said: "In proportion as nations advance in population the cultivation of the soil becomes more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions grow up supported by the public purse. . . . Among the means which have been employed to this end none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards composed of public characters charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aid to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvements by stimulating to enterprise and experiment and by drawing to a common center the results everywhere of individual

skill and observation and spreading them thence over the whole nation."

A bill for the establishment of such a society was introduced in 1797, but, although its purpose had the approval of public men generally, it failed on account of its association with a recommendation for a military academy. A similar attempt was made without success in 1817. Meanwhile, American consuls abroad continued to send to the United States, seeds, cuttings, sheep, hogs, silk-worm eggs, etc., with excellent results. Congress also authorized the publication of some useful documents relating to agriculture and kindred subjects.

The Government aid in distribution which had been begun in 1839 was systematically continued through the office of the Commissioner of Patents, the funds of that office being drawn upon for the necessary expenditures after the first appropriation by Congress. In 1862, Congress created a separate Department of Agriculture, of which the first Commissioner was Isaac Newton, who had been chief of the section of agriculture in the Patent Office. It is noteworthy that the first law providing for the establishment of agricultural colleges was passed in the same year.

During the four years of Commissioner Newton's service the nucleus of the present organization was formed, the inception of the weather service was effected, the cultivation of beet-sugar

was suggested and the growing of cotton was stimulated. Horace Capron, the second Commissioner of Agriculture, was, like his predecessor, a practical farmer of wide experience and extraordinary attainments. During his term, which expired in 1871, the main building of the Department was completed and occupied, and the Division of botany was created, at the suggestion of Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian Institution.

Commissioner Watts found in operation the Divisions of Garden and Grounds, Chemistry, Entomology, Statistics, and Botany. He was the first to take a special interest in the timber wealth of the country, and secured an appropriation for a forestry investigation in which Franklin B. Hough, of Pennsylvania, was employed as special agent. This was the beginning of the Forestry Division which was fully organized several years later. Commissioner Le Duc succeeded to the direction of the Department in 1877. He made extensive investigation into the diseases of domestic animals and the habits of insects, thus paving the way for two of the subsequent divisions. He also gave considerable attention to the subject of irrigation. Under Commissioner Loring, who assumed office in 1881, the Bureau of Animal Industry was established and the Division of Statistics, reorganized with a view to more extensive crop reports. Commissioner Colman, who was appointed by President

Cleveland, in 1885, greatly enlarged the sphere of the Department, adding several important divisions. Under his administration it became one of the Executive Departments of the Government in 1889, and he was raised to the position of first Secretary of Agriculture. The law providing for the establishment of experiment stations in various States was passed at this time and the Office of Experiment Stations was added to the branches of the Department. During Secretary Colman's incumbency, too, the Division of Pomology and the Division of Ornithology and Mammalogy were established and the section of Vegetable Pathology was formed in the Division of Botany.

Secretary of Agriculture, Jeremiah Rusk, took his place in President Harrison's Cabinet, in 1889. The new head of the Department reorganized it, dividing the work into two main classes: Executive, under the immediate charge of the Secretary; and scientific, under the Assistant Secretary, Edwin Willits, that office having just then been created. Secretary Rusk urged the advisability of placing the information gathered by the Department more widely in the possession of farmers and others interested and established, with this object, the Division of Records and Editing, now the Division of Publications, under George W. Hill, its present chief. This division began the publication of the Farmers' Bulletins, which have since become

so popular. Several of these have run over seven hundred thousand in their distribution and one over a million. The Weather Bureau was established as a part of the Department service in 1891 by transfer of the work, with men, buildings, and apparatus, from the War Department.

J. Sterling Morton became Secretary of Agriculture in 1893, and during his administration the number of publications issued, which had increased three hundred per cent. in Secretary Rusk's time, again increased over two hundred per cent. Secretary Morton created the important Division of Soils and established the Office of Road Inquiry. Secretary Morton was strongly opposed to the distribution of seeds, and recommended that the practice be abandoned. He failed in this, but succeeded in changing the method of distribution so that the packages, instead of being despatched from Washington, were sent from the warehouses of the seedmen holding the contracts to supply them.

James Wilson, of Iowa, the Present Secretary of Agriculture, has held the position for more than ten years. Congress has shown its appreciation of his services by constantly increasing appropriations which have made possible a great extension of the activities of the Department. The appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, was nearly ten millions as against somewhat less than two and

a half millions for that which ended June 30, 1897, while the number of employees on July 1, 1906, was 6,242, against 2,043 on July 1, 1897.

Very notable changes have been made within the Department of Agriculture since 1897. The naturally allied services of plant-disease and plant-breeding investigations, botanical investigations, pomological investigations, horticultural investigations, and seed and plant testing and distribution were brought into a well-proportioned unity in 1900 as the Bureau of Plant Industry, and to these lines several kindred branches of work have been added.

The Bureau of Forestry was about the same time organized from the division of the same name, and, under Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, has grown into the present Forest Service, with its enormous interests and splendid utilities. Several other divisions have, on account of their increased activities, been reorganized on the bureau basis.

Secretary Wilson has encouraged the introduction of several important new industries — notably beet-sugar,—and has aided the improvement of methods in others. His expressed policy is to “encourage the introduction of what will enable our people to diversify their crops and keep at home money that is now sent abroad to buy what the United States should produce.”

The Department of Agriculture up to May 1,

1906, cost the people of the United States, all told, slightly more than sixty millions of dollars, or considerably less than one million and a half a year on the average. Whilst it is impossible to make anything like a definite statement of the return to the public for this outlay, the services of the Agricultural Department are more susceptible of being measured in actual money value.

About the time the Department began its work, it was necessary to import considerable quantities of agricultural products. This was partly due to bad crops, but also largely to careless and ignorant methods of culture. Fertilizers were little known, barnyard manure was still considered in most places a nuisance to be got rid of, and rotation of crops was practised to only a very limited extent. Planting according to the phases of the moon was in vogue in many parts of the country.

As an indication of improved cultivation, we may take the figures of corn and wheat. In 1839 the production of the former was twenty-three bushels for each person in the United States; in 1899 it was thirty-four bushels. A comparison of the production of wheat at different periods of the past seventy years shows similar results which must by inference be largely attributed to the aid rendered to our fathers by the Department.

Through its Division of Statistics the Department aims to place in the hands of farmers such informa-

tion as will enable them to estimate wisely the value of their crops and to avoid deception and loss from speculative information spread abroad in the interests of buyers. Through the bureau of Animal Industry it not only seeks to discover the causes and remedies of animal diseases, but also to maintain measures of control and prevention that will hinder the spread of contagion. Further, the diseases of plants are the study of one division, and injurious insects receive the attention of another. Also, the introduction of new and valuable economic plants has been a most important feature of the Department's work, and many improved varieties have resulted from its efforts.

In that first comprehensive message to Congress, which has been referred to more than once in this chapter, Washington said: "The advancement of agriculture, commerce and manufactures by all proper means will not, I trust, need recommendation." Alexander Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, gave special consideration to the commerce and manufactures of the country, and recommended that a board be established for promoting arts, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Although the need of an organization especially devoted to the commercial and industrial interests of the country was widely recognized at this and succeeding periods, and its establishment frequently

mooted, the idea only crystallized with the organization of the Department of Commerce and Labor, following the passage of an Act authorizing it in 1902. The first Secretary was George B. Cortelyou; who in a public speech declared that: "No other Department has a wider field, if the just expectations of the framers of the legislation are realized. None will have closer relations with the people or greater opportunities for effective work."

The Secretary of Commerce and Labor is charged with the work of promoting the commerce of the United States, and its mining, manufacturing, shipping, fishery, transportation, and labor interests. His duties also comprise the investigation of the organization and management of corporations (except railroads) engaged in interstate commerce; the gathering and publication of information regarding labor interests and labor controversies in this and other countries; the administration of the Light-House Service, and the aid and protection of shipping thereby; the taking of the census, and the collection and publication of statistical information connected therewith; the making of coast and geodetic surveys; the collecting of statistics relating to domestic and foreign commerce; the inspection of steamboats, and the enforcement of laws relating thereto for the protection of life and property; the supervision of the fisheries as administered by the Government; the supervision and control of the

Alaskan fur-seal, salmon, and other fisheries; the jurisdiction over merchant vessels, their registry, licensing, measurement, entry, clearance, transfers, movement of their cargoes and passengers, and laws relating thereto, and to seamen of the United States; the supervision of the immigration of aliens, and the enforcement of the laws relating thereto, and to the exclusion of Chinese; the custody, construction, maintenance, and application of standards of weights and measurements; and the gathering and supplying of information regarding industries and markets for the fostering of manufacturing. He has power to call upon other Departments for statistical data obtained by them.

The new Department is much more extensive than the public in general, perhaps, realizes. It comprises a number of large bureaus performing a vast amount of work, such as the Bureaus of Corporations, Manufactures, Census, Labor, Immigration, Navigation, etc.

The Inter-State Commerce Commission was created by an Act of 1887, for the purpose of inquiring into the management of the business of all common carriers who are subject to the provisions of the legislation in question. These are all which are "engaged in the transportation of passengers or property wholly by railroad, or partly by railroad and partly by water, when both are used under a

common control, management, or arrangement, for a continuous passage or shipment, from one State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia to any other State or Territory of the United States or the District of Columbia, or from any place in the United States to an adjacent foreign country, or from any place in the United States through a foreign country to any other place in the United States, and also in the transportation in like manner of property shipped from any place in the United States to a foreign country and carried from such place to a port of transshipment, or shipped from a foreign country to any place in the United States and carried to such place from a port of entry either in the United States or an adjacent country."

It has jurisdiction to inquire into and report upon the reasonableness of rates on interstate traffic, to decide questions of unjust discrimination and of undue preference, to prescribe the publicity to be given to joint tariffs, and to institute and carry on proceedings for the enforcement of the provisions of the law. It has power to call for reports, to require the attendance of witnesses and the production of books and papers, to hear complaints of a violation of the act made against any such carrier, and to determine what reparation shall be made to a party wronged; to institute inquiries on its own motion or at the request of State railroad commis-

sions, and to report thereon; and it is required to make an annual report, which shall be transmitted to Congress.

It is also empowered, in special cases, to authorize any such common carrier to charge less for a longer distance than for a shorter over the same line, and to prescribe the extent to which the carrier may be relieved from the "long and short haul clause" of said act. Further powers were conferred upon the Commission and additional duties imposed by laws passed subsequent to its creation. Such are, the Elkins act, relating to rebates; the act of 1893, termed the "Safety Appliance Act;" and the law of 1898, styled the "Arbitration Act," which requires the Chairman of the Inter-state Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of Labor to use their best efforts, by mediation and conciliation, to settle controversies between railroad companies and their employees.

The Department of Commerce and Labor is at present under the disadvantage of having its numerous branches widely scattered about the capital, for the most part, in leased buildings. It will probably be the first Department to be provided for when the improvements contemplated on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue are carried into effect.

The Civil Service Commission is composed of three Commissioners, not more than two of whom

shall be adherents of the same political party, whose duty it is to aid the President as he may request in preparing suitable rules for carrying the "Civil Service Act" into effect. The act requires that the rules shall provide, among other things, for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the classified service, the making of appointments from among those passing with highest grades, an apportionment of appointments in the Departments at Washington among the States and Territories, a period of probation before appointment, and the prohibition of the use of official authority to coerce the political action of any person or body. The act also provides for investigations touching the enforcement of the rules, and forbids, under penalty of fine or imprisonment, or both, the solicitation by any person in the service of the United States of contributions to be used for political purposes from persons of such service, or the collection of such contributions by any person in a Government building.

There are about three hundred thousand positions in the executive civil service, of which somewhat more than half are classified subject either to competitive examination under the civil service rules or to a merit system governing appointments at navy-yards. In the latter class are about sixteen thousand mechanics and skilled workmen. The total expenditure for salaries in the executive civil serv-

ice is about two hundred millions of dollars. Persons merely employed as laborers or workmen and persons nominated for confirmation by the Senate are exempted from the requirements of classification. Within these limits certain classes of positions are excepted from examination, among them being employees at post-offices not having free delivery. Indians in the Indian service, attorneys, pension examiners, deputy collectors of internal revenue, office deputy marshals, and a few employees whose duties are of an important confidential or judiciary nature.

Examinations are held in every State and Territory at least twice a year. The examinations range in scope from technical, professional, or scientific subjects to those wholly based upon the age, physical condition, experience, and character as a workman of the applicant, and in some cases do not require ability to read or write. During the fiscal year ended June 30, 1905, 143,053 persons were examined, of whom 111,741 passed and 38,994 were appointed.

A vacancy is filled from among the three persons of the sex called for standing highest on the appropriate register, the order being determined by the relative rating, with certain limited exceptions. Until the rating of all papers of an examination is completed the identity of no applicant is known. A vacancy may also be filled by promotion, reduction,

transfer, or reinstatement. Certain preferences are shown to persons discharged from the military or naval service by reason of disability resulting from wounds or sickness incurred in the line of duty.

APPENDIX *

The almost total disappearance of old houses and the rapid obliteration of historic landmarks in the City of Washington, make it desirable to preserve such records as the following, which is reproduced from Hines's *Recollections*, long since out of print. Although Christian Hines was eighty-four years of age at the time his reminiscences were published, there is every reason to believe that his statements are in the main correct. His memory up to the time of his death was marvelously acute and he fortified it with notes made at times comparatively close to the events with which they were connected. Comparison with other, but much less complete sources of information confirms his account of the houses standing in the city between Georgetown and Capitol Hill in 1800. He begins with those on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue from Rock Creek eastward.

On the square bounded by I and K and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Streets were situated two houses; one a small two-story brick, occupied by Mr. Harbaugh, an architect; the other a small one-story

* Christian Hines made these memoranda in 1858, with the aid of his brother Matthew, who died five years later. Christian Hines was about twenty years of age when the seat of government was established in Washington. He died in his ninetieth year.

frame, occupied by Mr. Shaw, a stonecutter. On the square bounded by G and H and Twenty-sixth and the basin, a small one-story frame house, surrounded by Cedar trees, and occupied by Mr. Joseph Wilson. On the square bounded by F and G and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Streets were two houses; one a small one-story frame house, occupied by Mr. Sandiford; the other a large three-story stone warehouse, fronting on the Potomac, and known as Lear's warehouse. In this warehouse was deposited some of the furniture removed by the Government from Philadelphia at the time the capital was removed from that city to this. On the square bounded by I and K and Twenty-sixth and Twenty-seventh Streets, four houses; one a two-story brick, occupied by Mr. Wirly; the second, a one-story log, occupied by a pump-borer, named Mathias; and the other two, three-story bricks owned and occupied by Mr. Thomas Peter; in the house farthest west of these two, General Washington used to stop whenever he came to visit the city, Mrs. Peter being a niece of his. On the square bounded by E and F and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Streets, one old one-story frame house, owned by Dr. Thronton and occupied for a while by German emigrants. On Square bounded by C and D and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Streets, a one-story frame house, owned and occupied by Mr. Lucas. On square bounded by I and K and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Streets, two three-story brick houses, owned by Mr. Peter, with an old tobacco house in the rear. On square bounded by I and K and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth

Streets, three frame houses (two two-story and one one-story), two of which were owned by Richard Elliott and the other by a Mr. Pratt. On square bounded by C and D and Twenty-second and Twenty-third Streets, one small frame house, owned and occupied by Thomas Smith, a colored man. On square bounded by I Street and Pennsylvania Avenue and Twenty-second and Twenty-third Streets, two two-story brick houses, one owned by Mr. Lowry and the other by Mr. Hodgson. In the one last mentioned, the War Office was kept in 1800 and 1801. It was destroyed by fire soon thereafter.* On the square between F and G and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, one two-story frame house, occupied in 1799 and 1800 by John Hines, Sr. On square bounded by D and E and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, three small one-story frame houses, owned and occupied by Thomas Taylor, Sr. On square bounded by B and the Potomac River and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, near Hamburg wharf, one small frame house, occupied by Mr. Stevens as a grocery store. On square bounded by H and I and Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets a two-story stone house, owned and occupied by Mr. Wilson. On square between C and D and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, one large one-story house, occupied by Mr. Willard, and generally known as Willard's Spring

* The chronicler is at fault here. The War Office was located in a three-story brick house—of which he makes no mention—situated on the south side of the Avenue, between Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets. The fire occurred in November, 1800.

Garden. On the square bounded by E and F and Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets, one two-story brick house, occupied in 1799 and 1800 by Mr. William King, and subsequently owned by Joseph Forrest, Esq. On square bounded by E and F and Twentieth and Twenty-first Streets, one large frame house, occupied by Mr. Ferrel, a school teacher. On the square between B and the Potomac and Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets, a two-story stone house, occupied by Mr. Cunningham as a brewery. On square between F and G and Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets, a two-story frame house, occupied by Mr. Smoot. On square bounded by G and H and Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, a one-story frame house, occupied by a Mr. Williams. On square bounded by E and F and Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, two small brick houses, owned and occupied by the Messrs. King, surveyors. Square bounded by New York Avenue and F and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, a large three-story brick house, owned and occupied by Colonel Tayloe. Square bounded by F and G and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, a one-story log house, occupied by a Mr. Clark. Square bounded by B and C and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, Davy Burns's farm house, now Van Ness's. From this to the Capitol there were no houses on the avenue.

We will now go back to the upper bridge on Rock Creek, from whence we started, and take the north side of the avenue to the Capitol, including all to Boundary Street.

On square between Pennsylvania Avenue and M and Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Streets, a small wooden house surrounded by a small orchard, and occupied by a colored man. On square bounded by M and N and Twenty-second and Twenty-third Streets, a two-story frame house, occupied by a Mr. Houseman. On square bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue and L and Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets, four brick houses, one a three-story and three one-and-a-half stories (known as the "Round Tops"), and owned and occupied in part by a Mr. Pollock. On square between Pennsylvania Avenue and K and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, the "Six Buildings," three stories high — owners and occupants not recollected; also an old frame adjoining. On square between I and K and Twenty-first and Twenty-second Streets, three houses; two brick three-stories, one owned by Joel Brown, Esq., and the other by William O'Neal, Esq. On square bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue and I and Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets, ten houses; one three-story frame, occupied by a Mr. Middleton; one two-story frame, owned and occupied by William Waters, Esq., and the "Seven Buildings," brick, three stories high. On the square between I and K and Nineteenth and Twentieth Streets, four frame houses; one a small one-story, occupied as a Quaker meeting-house; one a two-story, occupied by Joseph Hodgson, Esq., and the other two, one story each, owned by Mrs. Ray, afterwards Mrs. Kedgeley. On Boundary between Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, a small wooden

house, occupied by a colored man named Rounds. On square bounded by L and M and Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, an old farm house, occupied by Mr. Steiner. On square bounded by I and K and Eighteenth and Nineteenth Streets, two houses; one, a two-story frame, occupied by a Mr. Robertson, a butcher, and the other a brick, occupied by Mr. Joseph Stretch. On the square bounded by H and I and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, two small one-story frame houses, occupied by a Mr. Phethean. On square between I and K and Seventeenth and Eighteenth Streets, an old wooden farm house, occupied by Mr. John Maul. On square between H and I and Vermont Avenue, two two-story brick houses, called the "Two Sisters, one of which was occupied by Captain Andrews, and the other, to the north, by a Mr. Middleton, as a cabinet-maker's shop. In this house some of the first mahogany desks were made for Congress, in 1800, previous to the first session of Congress in Washington. About half a mile directly north of these was a one-story wooden farm house, occupied by Mr. Thomas Dove (square not recollected). On square between Pennsylvania Avenue and F and Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets eight houses—two brick and six frame—the bricks were two stories high, one of which was occupied by Captain John Hoban, and the other by Captain Kearney; a two-story frame was occupied by Charles Shoemaker, Esq. On square bounded by H and I and Fourteenth and Fifteenth Streets, a one-story frame house, occupied by Mr. Jacob Miller. In front of this, and

where St. Matthew's Catholic church now stands, was a beautiful grove of forest trees. From this to Boundary Street, north, there was nothing but old fields and woods. On square bounded by E and F and Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, six houses; one two-story brick, occupied by R. Forrest, Esq.; one two-story frame, with a carpenter's shop attached, occupied by Captain Clotworthy Stephenson; one small brick and two small frames; also, a two-story frame, occupied by a Mr. Botts as a tavern. On square bounded by F and G and Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets, five houses and the President's stable (now a school house), one a three-story brick, owned and occupied by Dr. William Thronton; one small frame, occupied since by Dr. Cutting; a two-story brick, back of the oak tree, owned and occupied by Mrs. Johnson, and the two-story frame occupied by a Frenchman named Julian. The square bounded by G and H and Thirteenth and Fourteenth Streets was all in woods, and north of that to Boundary, nothing could be seen but woods and old fields. On square bounded by E and F and Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, three houses; one a two-story frame, owned and occupied by a Mrs. Sweeny; a one-story frame, occupied by Mr. Tolmey, and a one-story house, occupant not recollected. On square bounded by F and G and Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets, four houses; one a three-story brick, occupied by Lewis Clephane, Esq.; a one-story frame, occupied by Mr. Samuel McPherson; a two-story frame, occupied by Mr. Bond, a stonecutter, and a one-story house, occupied by Mr. David Tweedy.

On square bounded by G and H and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, three one-story frame houses; one occupied by Davy Jones, one by his mother-in-law, and the other by a colored family named Fletcher. On the square bounded by K and L and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets (back of Franklin Row), one farm house, two stories high (northwest of an apple orchard), occupied by Mr. Fenwick, and afterwards by a Mr. Jenkins. From this to Boundary Street there were no houses. On square between E and F and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, a one-story frame house, occupied by a Mr. Scott. On square bounded by F and G and Eleventh and Twelfth Streets, three houses; one a three-story brick, occupied by a Mr. Robert Brown; a two-story frame, occupied by Mrs. Wilson, and a one-story frame, occupied by Mr. McDaniel. From this to Boundary, old fields and woods. On square between E and F and Tenth and Eleventh Streets, three frame houses; one a two-story, occupied by Mr. Crawford, a constable; a one-story house, occupied by Mr. Person; the other (a one-story round top) was a Presbyterian church or meeting-house. This and St. Patrick's church, which stood opposite each other, were the only public places of worship between Rock Creek and the Capitol. From this to Boundary, old fields and woods. On square bounded by D and E and Ninth and Tenth Streets, two one-story frame houses; one occupied by Mr. Riffle, and the other by Mr. Scam. Square bounded by E and F and Ninth and Tenth Streets, four houses; one a two-story frame, occupied by Joseph Mechlin, Esq., one by

Dr. Bradley, and a three-story brick, occupied by Assistant Postmaster-General Abraham Bradley. On the square bounded by F and G and Ninth and Tenth Streets, St. Patrick's church (a small one-and-a-half-story frame house). Priest Coffrey was the first minister who officiated here. Also a small frame house, occupied by a Mr. Caffrey. On square bounded by G and H and Ninth and Tenth Streets, one wooden farm house, occupied by Mr. Burns (brother of Davy Burns, the owner), with a small orchard in the rear. From this to Boundary, old fields and woods. On the square bounded by D and E and Eighth and Ninth Streets, three frame houses; one occupied by Mr. Eakins, one by Mr. Thecker, and the other by a lady, name not recollected. On square bounded by E and F and Eighth and Ninth Streets, three frame houses; one occupied by William Worthington as a cabinet-maker's shop, and the others by George and Andrew Thompson, carpenters. From this to Boundary nothing but old fields and woods. On the square bounded by E and F and Seventh and Eighth Streets, one large three-story brick house, known as "Blodget's Hotel." This house stood where the general Postoffice now stands. On the square bounded by F and G and Seventh and Ninth Streets, where the Patent Office now stands, stood an old frame house, occupied by Mr. Orr. On the square bounded by I and M and probably Sixth and Ninth Streets, was Jenkins's farm, which extended a little beyond the old poorhouse. On this farm was an old dwelling house and tobacco house or barn, etc. From this to Boundary Street,

north, was what was called the "White Oak Slashes," all in woods. On the square bounded by E and F and Fourth and Fifth Streets, one two-story brick house, occupied by Mr. Duane as a printing office. On the opposite squares were twelve or fifteen small shanties, occupied by Irish laborers. From that to Boundary Street, old fields and woods. On the square between C and D and Fifth and Sixth Streets, a small one-story brick house, in which McGirk was confined, and then known as "McGirk's Jail." On square between E and F and Fifth and Sixth Streets, a two-story brick house, name of occupant not recollected. On square bounded by E and F and Fourth and Fifth Streets, an old tobacco house. From that to the White Oak Slashes there was only one farm house, occupied by Chloe Coombs. On Judiciary Square an old tobacco or farm house, occupied by Mr. Brown. On square bounded by D and E and Third and Fourth Streets, a three-story brick house, occupied (afterward) by a Mr. Young. Farther on, north of Samuel Burch's, were two wooden farm houses (square not recollected), and from that to Boundary old fields and woods. The last house between Georgetown and the Capitol stood in one of the triangular reservations about one hundred and fifty yards northwest of the Capitol. On the south side of what was called the Tiber, or Goose Creek, and near where the Washington Monument now stands, was a wooden house, occupied by an old colored man, known by the name of "Jack." Southwest of the monument stood a brick house, then or afterward occupied by a Mr. Duncan-

son. The old mansion house, occupied by Mr. Robert Brent, the first Mayor of Washington City, stood a short distance to the southeast of this. Considerably farther on, in the same direction, stood two frame houses, one of which was occupied as a carpenter's or cabinet-maker's shop. At Greenleaf's Point there were about twenty small frame houses, mostly shanties, for the accommodation of workmen. Last of all, some fifteen or eighteen large brick houses, built by Morrison (sic) and Nicholson and others, some of which were not finished and perhaps are not finished to this day.

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